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THE WEST-INDIA LABOUR QUESTION;

BEING

REPLIES TO INQUIRIES

INSTITUTED BY

THE COMMITTEE OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

EMBRACING

FACTS AND STATISTICS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES, AND ON THE ALLEGED WANT OF LABOUR IN THE WEST-INDIA COLONIES; BUT ESPECIALLY IN JAMAICA.

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LON:

PUBLISHED AT TH[illegible] OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27 NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE following letters are from the West-India correspondents of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. They are replies to certain queries which were submitted to various persons in our West-India colonies, with a view to elicit information on the alleged want of labour there, and the unwillingness of the peasantry to work for wages. The Committee trust that the circulation of the facts they have thus been enabled to collate, will tend to remove the erroneous impressions, prevalent on this subject, which interested parties in this country, aided by one of our leading journals, have sought to convey, and to counteract the mischievous tendency of their calumnious statements. The Committee deem it advisable not to publish the names of their correspondents; but would observe that their respectability and perfect trustworthiness are beyond question.

Whilst the Committee consider that the letters should be permitted to speak for themselves, it may be well to state the facts they establish.

1st. The alleged want of labour is a false cry. To cultivate the whole area of land at present lying waste in all the colonies except Barbadoes—would, indeed, absorb any number of labourers; but the evidence is overwhelming that no addition to their number is necessary to meet the demand for the estates that are actually under cultivation. 2dly. Where labour is said to be deficient, it can be traced to causes within the planters' control to remove. Of these, insufficient wages, unpunctual payment of the same, or no payment at all, are stated to be the chief. 3dly. Immigration on the present system is condemned as expensive and unsatisfactory, injurious to the people who are introduced, and to the native colonial population.

The allegations of idleness and immorality, which have been propagated by the *Times*, are indignantly repudiated as gross calumnies, and the writers are challenged to produce the proof of their reckless statements.

The Committee feel satisfied that all unbiassed persons who read the annexed communications, must come to the conclusion that the negro population of the West-India colonies have been shamefully maligned, and that the demand for "immigrant-labour" proceeds from a desire to graft upon free-labour a system of forced service, which is totally incompatible with the spirit of the Act of Emancipation.

27 New Broad Street, E.C.
London, April 1858.

QUESTIONS TO WEST-INDIA CORRESPONDENTS.

1. Is there any real want of labour in your colony; and if so, to what extent, and to what general causes is it to be ascribed?

2. Are the native labourers fairly remunerated for their labour on the estates, and are their wages punctually and regularly paid?

3. What number of immigrants has been introduced in your colony since Emancipation; and where did they come from principally?

4. What number has returned to India, China, or Africa?

5. What number is estimated to have died in the colony, and what number is estimated to be now in it?

6. What wages have they been in the habit of receiving?

7. What is the average cost of an immigrant, inclusive of his passage to the colony and back to his country?

8. What proportion of the immigrants have worked on the estates, and how have the rest been employed?

9. What effect has their introduction had upon the labouring population of the colony? Has it reduced the rate of wages? Has it supplanted native labour to any great extent? Has it forced the native labourers to seek occupation on their own grounds, in the cultivation of provisions for the increased population? How has it affected the morals of the native population?

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM THE WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.

THIS important island is placed first on the list, because it is usually selected to illustrate the alleged failure of emancipation, and its population has been more especially the object of the attacks of the *Times*, and of those who advocate similar views.

"London, 14th January, 1858.

"It is my decided opinion that there is no real want of labour in this colony, but that there is more than sufficient to keep the properties now existing in good cultivation. That a deficiency of hands is experienced on estates in some localities must be acknowledged; and although this may be to some extent attributable to idleness on the part of a portion of the people, yet, in most cases, I believe it is to be accounted for on the ground of insufficient remuneration to the labourer, compared with what he can earn on his own freehold or on hired lands—to ungenerous and harsh treatment—to bad house accommodation, and to some other causes that may be elicited by the questions which follow. Jamaica would undoubtedly support a much larger population than it at present contains, and from all I know of the parties opposed to the system of immigration now existing here, none would have an objection to a continued augmentation on terms *strictly equitable, and involving no possibility of danger to the rights and liberties of the immigrant.*

"My own conviction is, that one shilling per diem for field labour—and which may be said, with some exceptions, to be the general rate of wages a day throughout the island—is not sufficient, with the oppressive taxation to which he is subject, to enable a man to support himself and family adequately to their actual necessities; while any great improvement in the social condition of families under such circumstances is entirely out of the question. With such means it is next to impossible for parents to send their children to school, or parents, from the same cause, to avail themselves of the advantages of the Christian Sabbath, owing in part to their inability to procure decent clothing. At the same time I firmly believe that many of the labourers justify the indolence with which they are charged, and the deficient number of hours they work, on the very ground of this insufficient remuneration. Were wages fixed at 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem for an able-bodied man for the laborious occupation of cane-hole digging, and 1*s.* 3*d.* for lighter field-work, I fully believe that in most cases, the results would be as advantageous to the employer as to the employed: the employer of course requiring, on these terms (the breakfast hour excepted), steady consecutive labour during the usual number of working hours.

"These observations, it will be perceived, refer particularly to labour by the day. At task work, an able-bodied man can earn 2*s.* and upwards per day. Owing, however, to disagreements that often arise as to the proper performance of work thus by contract, to delays in payment, or some other causes, my impression is that the great majority of labourers prefer employment by the day. I qualify the expression just employed as to the number who prefer employment by the day rather than by task, by stating that this preference is not ordinarily manifested where an employer has the reputation of being ingenuous and just.

"With some exceptional cases, as a matter of course, the complaints of labourers of irregular payment of wages is heard in almost every direction throughout the country. Many of these complaints have been substantiated by facts, which those acquainted with them have offered to prove. It may be said, with little fear of contradiction, that on comparatively few estates are wages paid regularly and punctually; not so much, it is believed, from want of will, or from caprice, as from want of ability; but, in either case, disadvantage is experienced by the labourer amounting to a grievance, and disinclination to labour under such circumstances is natural. Wherever wages are duly and properly paid, and the labourers at the same time kindly treated, I have never known of any want of hands, especially in districts which have been favoured with Christian instruction. And I feel persuaded that, with fair treatment and increased pay, there would be little complaint either as to deficiency of labourers or of inadequacy of work performed in any part of the island.

"I am not aware that wages of the native labourers have been reduced as a consequence of the introduction of immigrants; firstly, because of the comparative smallness of the numbers that have to the present time been located among the native population; and, secondly, because the expenses in the support of Asiatics, and provision for their accommodation as to houses and furniture, together with other items, have been greater than the annual amount paid to an equal number of native labourers. For the same reasons, no very great disadvantageous results have been experienced in other respects.

"That immigration, if carried on systematically, and to a much greater extent than heretofore, but especially if in accordance with the recently

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enacted law of this colony, will have the effect of diminishing the amount of wages now given, and of driving the native labourer to his own ground, &c., there can be little doubt. In both these cases disadvantage would result to the native labourer, as in all likelihood the additional provisions that an increased population would consume would rather be raised by the emigrants themselves (if Africans) in allotments of land allowed them for the purpose, as formerly to slaves, or, if Asiatics, by articles chiefly imported. In districts where immigrants have resided in any number, their influence on the morals of the native population has been of a most pernicious character, reviving the debasing superstions that had become almost extinct, and greatly diminishing the restraints which religion and an improved state of civilization had imposed upon indecency, profligacy, and crime. And if these have been the results of inconsiderable importations, irregular, and after long intervals of time, it is easy to conceive of the greatly augmented evils that would follow the operation of the "Amended Immigration Act," that has been lately passed by our Legislative Assembly.

"Kingston, Jamaica,
"8th February, 1858.

"I hasten to reply to your favour of 14th ult.

"I am decidedly against unlimited immigration into this island, of hordes of barbarous people, to supply the owners of sugar-plantations with labour, at their rates of wages, and on their conditions. A large sugar-plantation, which requires 100 or 200 labourers to work it, according to the old time style, is the creature of Slavery, and, in my judgment, is not easily maintainable in an agricultural *colony*, (where land is or ought to be cheap, and labour dear), unless labourers under some kind of bondage are introduced. What farmer in Canada or Australia could expect to have a demand answered for *hundreds* of labourers, to labour per *hour?* He is glad to get half a dozen, and these he cannot retain, unless by good treatment and high wages. This exemplifies the true relation of labour and capital in an agricultural colony, and of course, therefore, in this colony; and it is against this strong natural tendency of our population that the West-India Body are now contending in their efforts to introduce indentured Africans, who shall be bound to serve ten years, with their wives and children, if they have any, and who shall be so fixed to the land, as to go with it on alienation, by conveyance or devise. (See the Immigration Act of this island of last session, 21st Vic. cap. 5, sec. 26. Nor shall they, by that Act, be allowed to go more than five miles from their plantations without a passport.)*

"When it is considered that almost the whole coffee-plantations, and a large portion of the sugar-estates have been abandoned, it is clear that there is in the island abundance, numerically, of the labouring classes; *but they will not give their labour on the terms offered by the sugar planters. That* is the true position of the case, and not that the island is under-peopled. The truth is, that it is to colonies being under-peopled, that the superior wealth and comfort of their population is in a good measure owing. Why, therefore, deprive our people of that advantage in the way proposed? why undersell them, by introducing barbarians, under ten years' indentures, at 10*s.* per month, to compete with them in their own labour market? The sugar-plantations now working do not exceed in number three hundred, and these it is probable are owned by less than 200 individuals, most of them resident in England; and they do not employ more than about 15,000 labourers, to make their 25,000 hogsheads of sugar. Is *that* an interest to which *the entire well-being of the masses* should be made subservient?

"The expensive institutions of this island, doubtless, need a large revenue, and there are also heavy public debts; and it is unlikely that any system will find favour which is to weaken the power of the plantations as they exist, in all their peculiar economy. The absentee and representative system still prevails; capital cannot be had by the practical planters resident on the island; so that, instead of a strong body of local planters on their own account, exercising all the salutary, natural, healthy economy of farming, which when well managed affords good wages to the labourer, we have the old system of management by deputies (attorneys, overseers, and book-keepers), who have miserable pittances, and no security for permanence and the establishment of families. Demoralization, and social evils of the greatest magnitude, are the consequences of this perpetuation, by artificial means, of the 'old plantation system,' which is wholly adverse to the economy of free countries, and the curse of the natural relations of society.

"In answer to your specific questions:—

"1 and 2. The planters often find it difficult to get labour on *their* terms, as already explained. They often affirm, however, that a labourer may, if he pleases, earn 3*s.* a day; but this cannot be a general case throughout the year—probably it sometimes occurs in crop-time, at long spells of eighteen hours in the twenty-four. The labourers say they get for day-work only 1*s.*, sometimes only 9*d.* To which the planters reply, that what *they* call a day's work is not half a real day's work. And so it is that the question is, and always must be, one of circumstantials, which renders it difficult to get at the general truth of the case. One thing is certain—that proper family accommodation for the permanent settle-

* This Act has been disallowed by the Home Government.—Ed.

ment of labourers is often wanting. There ought to be suitable houses for families, and provision lands, and reasonable wages offered; and that I think, would obviate *much* of the difficulty complained of, of getting permanent labourers. For it is a fact, that there are planters who make no complaints on the subject; many others, complainers, have not stated the whole truth—that the irregularity and uncertainty of their payments, and the large proportion of the wages exacted for rents, have been the chief causes of the scarcity *to them* of labour. I have known large sums to be due to labourers for weeks and months, which they could not get paid, and yet they worked on, which English labourers in the like case would never do.

"3. I understand, from the published statements, 17,000 immigrants have been introduced into this island, mostly from Africa and the East Indies. The European labourers *placed on estates*, of course, died. They were fit only for settlers in the mountains, where, if properly cared for, they would have done well; but they were not properly cared for.

"4. I cannot tell what number has been returned to India and China.

"5. I think I have heard that 13,000 had died in the colony. The truth is, that the whole number of labourers necessary to carry on the present cultivation is only 15,000, or thereabouts. But I do not profess to give correct information on this point.

"6. I have answered this above.

"7. I think 15*l.* from India.

"8. I cannot say. But if only 15,000 are required for all the sugar estates, *that* number has already been introduced!

"9. I have no doubt that their introduction has to some extent kept down the rates of wages that would otherwise have prevailed. But I believe much might be done, to sustain a supply of labour from the Creole population, which is not done. The really intelligent and independent labourer is often unwilling to put up for himself and family with plantation accommodation and wages and treatment. As to the effect on morals and religion, I know that the presence of the Africans has been injurious, and so must have been that of the Hindoos and Chinese. Which of us would expose our children, or our women, to the evil influence of such fellow-workmen?

"In my judgment, the true care for the West Indies is to secure for them the benefits which other free colonies enjoy. Let the people be encouraged to become planters on their own account, and let the respectable resident white planters, many of whom have brown families, be encouraged to begin in a small way, and carry on and establish themselves as settlers, as they do in other countries, instead of, as now, being mere miserable dependents on absentees for a precarious living. The application judiciously of a little capital to assist that class, on such securities as they could offer, would do much to accomplish these objects. But all capital, hitherto, has been exclusively in the hands of the West-India Body in England, who generally are adverse not only to raising the black people to the rank and condition of settlers, but to the existence of independent agriculturists, working on a small scale.

"Colonization on Christian principles, of independent agricultural settlers, could accomplish much. *If it were possible to direct some English enterprise for such an object, it would, in my judgment, accomplish more for the island than any other measure that could be devised.*

"Why do not our planters seek for labourers from the refugees in *Canada?* Why prefer untutored savages to these intelligent, enterprising men, many of whom are suffering grievously in that inhospitable climate, and would be bettered by removal to this country?

"Spanish Town, Jamaica,
"February 9, 1858.

"I forward to you copies of a series of letters, from the Transactions of the *Society of Arts*, and of some lectures that were delivered in August last, on the '*Industrial Status of the Colony*,' in which you will see the immigration schemes of the colony exposed as profitless experiments, and the state of the labour market pointed out as amounting to no more in wages than the interest of the sum the proprietors received in compensation for their prædial and non-prædial labourers.

"Taking the following calculation as a proper estimate of the distribution for sugar culture, you will see that we have an available population quite as extensive for staple agriculture as the capability of the colony *in means*. The census of 1844 gave us the amount of all inhabitants, of every age, grade, and condition, at 377,000. Now, dividing these into fifths, to ascertain the distribution of relative ages for work, we find 75,000 the calculation for a levy *en masse*, giving the number of effective male labourers; 75,000 the number of effective female labourers; 75,000 the non-effective and aged; 75,000 the young of both sexes under tutelage; and 75,000 the very young, or infants. Then, admitting that the sugar exports for Jamaica are steadily 30,000 hogsheads per annum, which are usually estimated as exhibiting 30,000 effective labourers consecutively employed in field tillage, it absorbs, you will perceive, scarce a fifth of the 150,000 male and female population effective for husbandry. Now, making as liberal allowance as you may please for handicraft labour, and for commercial and other pursuits, out of this 150,000 effective male and female labourers, you will find that the plantations have very many more people ready to work for wages than they can employ.

"The profitless character of the schemes of immigration hitherto attempted may be esti-

mated by referring to a speech delivered by one of the official organs in the Session of the Legislature just closed. He stated, that in the last ten years, that is, up to December 1856, 276,000*l.* had been expended in the importation of immigrants. This was money realized by taxation. With this sum, 7000 persons might be considered as thrown into the colony, within the ten years, over and above the ordinary and stationary number of inhabitants. This, at an allowance of 1*l.* per annum for consumption of taxable commodities for each, had replaced in the Treasury in ten years 70,000*l.* Now, this was made use of as an argument for further expenditure, seeing that we had spent 270,000*l.*, and replaced 70,000*l.* in the public Treasury.

"The immigration the colony really wants is a body of *small farmers.* It has capabilities for a million of additional inhabitants; and the manner in which these would augment the productive value of Jamaica, is fully explained in the lecture on the '*Industrial Status of the Colony.*'

"The transactions of the *Society of Arts* will shew you what has been sought to be done for, extending the industry of the unemployed people into new channels. You will hardly believe that the House of Assembly, in the last Session, on the *very ground that the Society of Arts encouraged labour otherwise than exclusively on the plantations —though the plantations have not capital to employ them*—WITHHELD *the Government grant which has been annually made to it hitherto.* If you will look at Sir Erskine Perry's statements respecting Ceylon, as contrasted with India, which you will find at page 60 of the Papers now sent you, you will see the character of the contest the planters would hold with the *Society of Arts* respecting the increase of small settlements.

"The letters on cotton culture and immigration, to which I refer you, with the lecture, have given special offence to the planters, especially for the quotation from the *Edinburgh Review*, respecting our analogy with Puerto Rico, as depicted by Colonel Flinters. You will see the passage in Letter III., at page 66. This will shew you what sort of spirit prevails in the colony with reference to plantation interests exclusively."

"S. Ths. ye Vale, Jamaica.

"February 20, 1858.

"Your circular of the 14th ult., relative to the labour question as it affects the colonies, and appending a series of queries on the subject, reached me only the day before yesterday; in consequence of which I was prevented acknowledging and replying to it by last packet. Nor am I certain that I can be of much assistance, seeing that you, no doubt, require facts based on personal knowledge, and I am located in a district cultivated chiefly by the labouring classes, where of course the question of deficiency of labour is seldom mooted. Still, however, as I am willing to contribute my quota of information, such as it is, I take up your first question, and reply to it as follows:

"There can be little doubt that a 'real want of labour' is experienced in the colony by proprietors of estates generally, although there may be, and no doubt is, an exception to the rule in certain districts. The extent must be gathered from the number of properties that have gone out of cultivation, and the hundreds of thousands of acres lying untilled. But the 'general causes' for this unhappy state of things are more various than many will openly admit, and not so much to the disadvantage of the late slaves as this party contend. Labour, from many causes, is deficient, but idleness of the lately emancipated is not to be numbered among them.

"The following particulars must be regarded as deeply affecting the question:

"Forty thousand of the labourers are supposed to have died off in consequence of cholera and small-pox.

"From the facility of obtaining land, a spirit of independence, leading to the desire to obtain; and from the habit originating in a period of Slavery, of every family's cultivating grounds, the great body of the people are settled on their own lands, bought or hired, and therefore labour for estates but as occasion requires.

"As in other countries, managers are not always judicious, and hence are not liked, and find difficulty in obtaining labour.

"The usual rate of wages, 1*s.* per diem—I have heard of 9*d.*—for able-bodied labourers, affords little inducement to exertion among a people whose wants are few, and those wants easily supplied by labour on their own places. I am disposed to think the charge true, that the people do not labour for others 'with all their might;' but, perhaps, were wages raised with the price of produce, this cause of complaint would be removed, for it is also true that they are fond of money; while it is certainly not just to them that, with high prices, no increase takes place in their pay. It may be replied, that there is no decrease with the fall of rates; but certainly 1*s.* should be the minimum. This rate could not clothe and feed a labourer; the deficiency (say rather the greater part) is made up from the proceeds of his field. He should, therefore, not be required to take less than 1*s.*

"As I have said, it is not true that the labourers are, as a body, idle. Every public thoroughfare in the island proves this, for these are periodically crowded with them and their stock; the export of coffee maintained, in a great measure, by their cultivation of this berry; the comparative little necessity for their purchasing sugar, in consequence of manufacturing the article at home; the supply of 'ground pro-

visions,' kept up entirely by them, I believe, through the island; their occupation in various trades,—all prove it. Certainly, in a country where *labour* is entirely maintained by the lately emancipated and their descendants, it is the greatest folly and absurdity to term them idle, as a body.

"But can one thrive on idleness? Yet, if any class of persons in the island is thriving, it is this. Hence the number of small settlements throughout the country; hence their rivalling the European in dress; hence the number of horses, asses, and mules which they possess; hence their liberality on public occasions of charity; hence their being able at times to lend their late owners money.

"My district, other districts adjoining, is chiefly peopled by the labouring classes; and no one could ride through it and say that the people's temporal affairs are not prosperous: here a cane-field, there a coffee-piece; here a plantain-walk, there a lot of yam-hills. True, with greater artificial wants, they would be less 'comfortably' placed, but we take them as they are.

"One of my congregation, formerly a slave, lately purchased a horse for 30*l*. Another party, who occasionally attends church, through the interest of a proprietor, obtained a coffee-property, on lease and sale, not long ago. I had occasion, some short time back, to open a subscription list; two individuals paid 20*s*. each, and several 8*s*. and under. The people are progressing in wealth and comfort, which could not happen were they idle. They are not all they should be;—what body of persons are? But this is not now the question; and if it were, we have no right to deal with the exception as if it were the rule.

"The letter of 'Expertus' in the *Times*, and the remarks of that paper, as published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of the 1st of January, go forcibly to prove that intellect is not virtue.

"It were well that, instead of these uncharitable bickerings and complaints, parties would turn to the true causes of the ruin of the colonies—pride, and the worship of mammon of those who have been long dominant. The first checks the growth of friendly feeling, inducing other evils; and the latter perpetuates the greatest injustice. Pride continues to uphold the doctrine, long exploded, as we thought, of their being any inherent difference in the constitution of men; and love of mammon induced the very evils sought to be laid at the doors of the emancipated. The desire to have cheap sugar at any cost, and thus lessen the burden on the pockets of consumers, induced the great agent of the evil, the Sugar-Duty Act of 1846, and not the idleness of the negro. 'No hurricane, in its terrible consequence,' remarks a late writer, 'was ever so disastrous to the colony as the Act of the British Legislature in 1846: to that Act alone we may trace the rapid downfall of Jamaica.'. . . The fiscal regulations of England, which imposed a duty on the market value of our products of nearly 100 per cent., was bad enough, but, in the words of the Commissioners of Guiana, who were commissioned to inquire into the condition and prospects of that colony, 'The Sugar Act of 1846 at once prostrated the whole landed interest of the country, and has been already, in 1850, the total ruin of many an opulent proprietor. Names, the highest and most influential, have followed one another in the *Gazette* with ominous rapidity, and the estates of men, formerly holding the first position in the colony, have been successfully brought to the hammer, and their owners absolutely beggared.' Immediately after the passing of that Bill, sugar fell below 50 per cent., depression became permanent, and, within three years, no less than fifty-six sugar estates in Trinidad were either wholly or in part abandoned. Lord Harris, writing to the Home Government of the distress of the planters in 1840, says, 'Since the passing of the Sugar Bill, equalizing the duties on free and slave sugar, and admitting slave-grown sugar, on equal terms with our sugar, into the home-markets, nineteen planters have gone through the Insolvent Court; their liabilities amount to 370,000*l*.; the average dividend paid is three-pence three-farthings in the pound.' May we ask, Was either 'Expertus' or the *Times* in any way instrumental to the passing of the Sugar-Duty Act of 1846?"

"May Hill, Jamaica.
"20th February, 1857.

"The articles you refer to as having appeared in the *Times* had not escaped my notice; I read them with great indignation. So far as they refer to the emancipated class in this island generally, they contain gross falsehoods, and the vilest slanders; indeed, some of the observations on the superiority of Asiatics to the negro labourers, could not be read in this island without provoking ridicule at the gross ignorance of the malicious slanderer of a people who as yet are, in general, so imperfectly educated as to be unable to defend themselves with the pen.

"I have been thirteen years in Jamaica. During the whole of that period I have resided in the Manchester mountains, about sixty miles from Kingston. This parish contains chiefly coffee properties, pimento walks, and farms. Sugar is cultivated to no extent in the parish. I have laboured for these thirteen years almost exclusively among the black and coloured people. When I came to Manchester I found many properties abandoned, and others in the course of being abandoned; but had Slavery continued,

these estates would have shared the same fate. Emancipation was not the cause of the abandonment. I found the rate of wages miserably small, and a combination existing among the planters and employers to keep the wages at a uniformly low rate. I found not sufficient demand existing for available labour, and the people accordingly were in the way of purchasing and to cultivate on their own account. There is now a very large number of independent freeholders in Manchester. In the course of these thirteen years there has been an obvious improvement in the social, moral, and religious condition of the people generally. Idlers we have—unprincipled and bad people we have—but they form a small minority of the population. And I believe that as much coffee is sent out of Manchester now, by these small freeholders, as in the palmy days of Slavery used to be sent from the large estates.

"Nothing has been done by our local government for the elevation of the people. A contemptible driblet is voted for education, which the Presbyterians scorn to accept. All that has been done for the people has been chiefly through the voluntary liberality of Missionary societies and benevolent friends of freedom in Britain. A few, a very few, ministers of the Established Church deserve commendation for their zeal. But while licences to keep grog-shops are given out by all the vestries with shameful indiscrimination—while horse-racing is patronised—and nothing done to discountenance dancing booths and night revelings, the influential residents in the island, who are always the readiest to slander the negroes, are those who do least for their physical and moral elevation.

"I am scarcely in a position to answer the questions in your circular, but shall note a few things down bearing on them though not directly in reply to them :—

"1st & 2d. There are great falsehoods published about the decrease of our population. There has been no census taken for more than fifteen years. I believe that since that time there has been an increase of the population by *one half*. I take Manchester as a sample of the island—and beyond all question our population is increasing rapidly. I have not the smallest doubt that by 1868 there will be double the black people in the island that there were on 1st August, 1838. A few cases of child-murder have been *suspected*, rather than proved as existing in Kingston; and in their usual lying style the pro-Slavery prints assert that infanticide prevails all over the island — that there is a consequent fearful decrease of population—and that this, along with the want of sanitary measures and medical attendance, is telling fearfully on our population. All gross falsehoods—unscrupulous lies.

"No planter here in Manchester has the least difficulty in getting his crop gathered in, and some I know of have been obliged to refus application for labour. When it is not crop-time, 9*d*. a day is the wage given; and several large proprietors now pay by the day, *i. e.* at least eight hours' work; nay, this very week I find the wage reduced from 9*d*. to 7½*d*. per day on the very property adjoining my residence. During the picking of the coffee and pimento, it is possible for an expert picker to make 1*s*. 6*d*. per day, but with difficulty. For labour on the high roads only 1*s*. a day is paid; and it is scarcely possible to make more than 9*d*. a day for unskilled labour in this parish all the year over. There are quite enough of labourers here, to work at this rate, or to work from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. for their miserable two bitts!* Those employers who pay regularly, who speak kindly to the people, and don't cheat them, have never cause to complain of want of hands; and, beyond a doubt, many of them can carry on cultivation here, at a less cost now than they could before emancipation.

"I know a large number of our small freeholders who are ready to give regularly four days a week to properties, if they got an adequate wage fairly paid, and who, even as it is, submit to the small wage doled out for their labour. I know many labourers, who because the demand for labour is so irregular, and because the value of labour is so low, prefer renting land at 20*s*. per acre, and raising provisions for the market, whose labour would be available were there a steady demand and adequate renumeration for it. Why, much as our people dislike the ocean, they went in scores from Jamaica to the isthmus to labour on the railroad, when a tempting wage was within their reach! Since I came to Manchester, too, many were wont to go down from our mountains to Vere, to labour on the sugar properties, when there was as much as 1*s*. 9*d*. or 2*s*. a day to be made. They went down there though the accommodation at night was such as might have suited *cattle*, but not respectable people who had any sense of decency. Truly it becomes these hirelings of the press, whose employers treat the negroes like *beasts*, to speak to them as if they *were* beasts, and not as capable of as high elevation, if not higher than themselves.

3d to 9th. "I am not in circumstances to answer these questions; but I may add a few words about the black people generally.

"The great majority of the people in Manchester are commendably industrious. They are making evident progress in civilization. Their houses are more comfortable, and, though not all we could desire, better furnished than formerly. They are a church-going people. I have

* A bitt is equal to 4*d*. sterling.—ED.

every Lord's-day a regular attendance of about 600 adults, and 200 children in the gallery of the chapel. They come neatly and decently dressed; three out of the five adults can read their Bible, and refer readily to the texts quoted. Although I have only 250 members, they raise about 200*l.* yearly for the support and spread of the gospel, and they employ one of our elders, once a slave, a self-educated man, as a Bible-reader and Home Missionary in the settlements around us. We have above 350 old and young in our Sabbath-school. In our Week-day-school 150 are in daily attendance. Several of our people read from the Church Library. I distribute 100 copies of the *Child's Paper* each month in the congregation. I have a considerable number who read the newspapers, and I cannot describe the indignation they expressed on reading and hearing of such articles in the *Times*, as you refer to.

"Perhaps it might do good to mention one or two instances of grateful and generous feeling on the part of my people, which go a great way to cover with shame their base and unprincipled detractors:—

"About eight years ago the widowed daughter of the admirable Missionary who preceded me at New Broughton paid us a visit. Well, these much-slandered black people spontaneously resolved to make her a present; and in testimony of their love for her father's memory, and of gratitude for her own labours among them during the apprenticeship era, they raised and presented her with the handsome sum of 25*l.* All this in addition to their own ordinary contributions.

> He's a false-hearted knave—scarce worth his food;
> His master says, 'He has no gratitude!'

"No; none for stripes and chains, I trow. But I bear them record that more deep, tender, and warm affection I never saw in a congregation of whites.

"The same pagans and savages, at a cost of 20*l*, erected a marble tablet to the memory of their first minister.

"The same brutified people, on the occasion of the centenary of the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Edinburgh, entirely unmoved by me, subscribed 10*l.* to purchase a piece of plate in token of their love and gratitude to the senior pastor of the mother church.

"Ay, the same animals—so incapable of all elevation—on the occasion of my little boy leaving Jamaica for Scotland for his education, met together, composed and presented to me a most touching and sympathizing address, and begged my acceptance of two doubloons as a present for my son, who, being born, baptized, and brought up among them, they claimed as a brother. And observe that, on the very week in which this was done, this same people subscribed 15*l.* to send along with a dear brother of mine who, after labouring four years in Jamaica, was on his way to labour in their fatherland at Old Calabar: they wanted this 15*l.* to be applied to the translating of God's blessed Word into the language of the people there. Had these slanderers of this people been present when this collection was made, and heard the addresses of these black elders of mine, they might have gnashed with their teeth, if they were not overwhelmed with shame and confusion.

"Much remains to be done for our black brethren. Blessed be God, much is doing in Jamaica. I am alive to the importance of this crisis. I never more felt the importance of our work in Jamaica than after spending a few months in the United States last year. Verily, we and our people here are a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men. Although we make little stir, we are not the less earnestly doing our best (by our efforts to elevate and Christianize our people) to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.

"The Presbyterian body have upwards of 20 stations in the island; we have no pluralities—one agent at each station. We have 16 European agents, the most of them young men—accomplished, thoroughly educated men—men of great talent and energy some of them, and whose hearts are entirely in the cause of Anglo-Ethiopia and Africa. We have one of the best academies in the island, at which our promising boys receive a classical and mathematical education, and we have black lads there that would make no disreputable figure at Mill Hill or at Eton. We have an accomplished theological tutor, who is preparing for the holy ministry the lads that have approved themselves at the academy, and then as teachers at our school. I had the pleasure, four weeks ago, of listening to one of these black students from my own pulpit. He preached to a very large congregation, in a way that gives much promise of future usefulness;—a lad who is now teaching a school most creditably, whose father and mother were both Africans, and who himself was born a slave. We can 'thank God and take courage.'"

Rio Bueno, Jamaica,
February 22, 1858.

"I. I cannot from personal knowledge speak of the colony generally, but respecting the district in which I reside I can answer unhesitatingly in the negative. This district comprises a considerable number of large and flourishing estates. My knowledge of it extends along the sea-side from the Rio Bueno to within a short distance of the Martha Bra—about fifteen miles. Among the estates included, I may name the following: Bengal, Bryan Castle, Brampton Bryan, Lisworney, Hopewell, Nightingale Grove, Arcadia, Georgia, Friendship, Swanrick, Vale Royal, Braco, Lancaster, Harmony Hall, and Spring.

The largest proprietor and attorney connected with these has more than once assured me that he can get as much labour as he requires; and, even in the worst times, every one of his properties is known to have been remunerative; while, under his efficient management, estates that had been a loss to their owners have yielded a fair return.

"II. The wages of field labourers in this district are from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per day; but, in some occupations, and at some seasons, I am informed that a few men may earn even more. Mechanics on estates earn 2*s.*; old people and children from 6*d.* to 9*d.* I believe the wages are generally paid with regularity. It has been stated to me, on good authority, that the before-named gentleman makes it a rule instantly to discharge any overseer who neglects to pay the labourers every Friday evening.

"Questions III to VII unable to answer,

"VIII. I do not know; but I have travelled over a large portion of the island, and on very few estates have observed either Coolies or Chinese, and these have borne a very small proportion to the number of native labourers. It appears to me that the Coolies mostly leave estate labour to become pedlars, while a large number of the Chinese become vagrants.

"IX. I have met with some instances in which the effect, both of Coolie and African immigrants, has been most injurious to the morals of the community; and have had reason to think that these instances are illustrative of general facts. In the investigation of a quarrel between several young girls upon a neighbouring property, it came out that Coolie pedlars were in the habit of offering articles of female dress as bribes to prostitution. And there can be no doubt that Africans have wrought a fearful amount of mischief, by the introduction of Obeah superstition.

"On the whole, I may state my conviction that, while free immigration, accompanied by capital and enterprise with which to bring under cultivation immense tracts of the richest land now lying waste, would be a great blessing to the country, our present population is fully equal to the amount of capital and enterprise at present to be found in the colony; and that the only effect of any immigration scheme will be, if successful, to reduce the wages of native labourers, while it taxes them for the expenses it will incur.

"Brown's Town, Jamaica, Feb. 22, 1858.

"I have made extensive inquiries of trustworthy persons, residing in nearly all parts of the island, but cannot ascertain that there is anywhere a deficiency of labour; in fact, in most places, there seems to be a superabundant supply, so that if immigrants come they will necessarily displace the native labourer; while, to my certain knowledge, there are large numbers of people who would gladly work on the estates if their services were required, and they were paid remunerating wages.

"Until two days ago I could not get a sight of the Immigration Bill passed by our House of Assembly in the last Session, and then only as a loan, but I shall write to a friend in town and beg him to get a copy, at any trouble or expense, to send you by packet; and when you see it, you will be convinced that the manner in which it has been smuggled through the House of Assembly, without a debate (at least none were reported in the papers), and without affording the public the least opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of its contents, was a part of the secret system of the West-India body, referred to by you, to re-establish the Slave-trade and Slavery, under the name of free immigration. You, and the *Anti-Slavery Society*, will, I know, do all that can be done to prevent it receiving the Royal Assent."*

"Mandeville P. O. Jamaica,
"February 23, 1858.

"Every scheme of immigration, as far as I have been able to judge, has been useless to the planter, and an unmitigated evil both to the immigrants themselves, and to the agricultural labourers of this country.

"The Jamaica Immigration Bill of last session seems to have passed unobserved by the friends of freedom here. They are now, however, on the alert, and preparing for united action on the subject."

"Stewart Town, February 23, 1858.

"You wish to know if I have seen the article put forth in the *Times* respecting the negroes in Jamaica. I have not seen the article, but I have seen this sentence quoted from it in some of the island papers, namely, 'That the negroes are lazy, grovelling, sensual, degraded wretches.' That there are many, very many persons in this country that will answer to the above description is too painfully true; but that the terms employed are *peculiarly* applicable to the black men in Jamaica I deny. The *Colonial Standard*, the leading journal of the planters, says, 'The terms are much too strong.' And I will, for your information, copy one or two sentences from an article in that paper on the letter above referred to. 'We doubt,' says the editor, 'whether any number of farm labourers taken from Devon, Wilts, Dorset, Somersetshire, or Gloucestershire, hard as they labour *there*, at wages smaller than any really industrious negro may earn in this country, would do more work, had they the same impunity from labour.' I have no doubt there may be some localities in which there may be a

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* We are happy to announce, that since the above was in type the Bill has been disallowed. —Ed.

want of agricultural labourers, but I cannot tell where they are, certainly not in St. Ann's, Trelawney, or St. James'. I am acquainted with six or seven proprietors and attorneys, who represent more than twenty of the largest sugar estates on the north side of the island, and they say they have no difficulty in commanding labour; and the reason is, the people are *regularly paid*. The only sugar estates in the vicinity of Stewart Town pay the people very irregularly, and the planter is constantly disputing with the people, and their wages kept back for three and four weeks together. I believe, in nine cases out of ten, where there is a complaint against the people that they will not work, it arises from this cause.

"That there are many lazy black men in Jamaica is quite true, and there are many lazy white men here too. We have some industrious black men also. I will give you one or two instances, from my own congregation. H. W. is a black man who purchased his own freedom, and after that he bought the freedom of his wife. He now possesses a property consisting of 150 acres of land, 100 acres of which he has purchased within the last two years, and is now paying for it from the produce of this same land, which he cultivates. He has also from ten to twenty head of cattle, and makes two or three tierces of coffee every year. E. S. is a black man, who possesses a coffee and pimento property, and five or six cottages, besides a large store or shop, all the result of his own industry. And hundreds of facts similar to these might be given to shew that the negroes, as a class, are not lazy.

"I only wish I could speak as favourably of them in other respects. My experience of the last three years has brought me to the painful conclusion that large numbers, that once bid fair for the kingdom of heaven, have gone back to the world; and many of the children of these professing Christians are becoming a moral pest to the community.

"But one can hardly wonder at it, when they had such evil examples set them by their superiors; the wonder is that they are not worse. Our magistrates, legislators, merchants, and planters are the abettors of uncleanness and dishonesty, with very few honourable exceptions. They do nothing, as a class, for the moral, social, and religious improvement of the black people: all they seem to care for is, the building up of their fortunes in the shortest possible time, without any regard to the principle of equity, and then to retire and enjoy them. Under such unfavourable circumstances the wonder is that any have improved, and not that they have not improved more."

"Brown's Town, Jamaica,
"February 25, 1857.

"You have heard, I trust, before this reaches you, respecting the Immigration Bill which was framed by the legislature during its last session. I cannot procure a copy of it, either for myself, or to send you, but hope Mr. — has obtained one, or has given you an abstract of it. It would re-establish Slavery in our midst, under a new name, and seems, both in its character and in the manner in which it was smuggled through the Assembly and Council, to be part and parcel of the scheme which you say the West-India body have been working secretly and with all their might.

"The proprietors of estates number less than 200, and many of these are opposed to immigration. Is it right to sacrifice the interests of a whole people, and inflict fearful injuries on others, to enrich them? Could nothing be done to induce the Government to issue a Commission, to inquire into the Labour Question, and the results of emancipation? I should have no fear of the result. It would be proved to demonstration that there is at the present time a superabundance of labour in the island, for the estates that are at work; and that, so far from the negroes being sunk into barbarism, they have, as a people, made wonderful progress since emancipation.

REPLY TO QUERIES.

"1. I have made diligent inquiries, personally and by correspondence, of gentlemen of character and influence residing in various parts of the island, but cannot learn that there is anywhere a paucity of labour.

"There may be a few estates inadequately supplied; but if inquiries were instituted, it would, I think, invariably be found that the deficiency arises from other causes than the want of labour. In some places I understand wages are irregularly paid; in others the labourers complain, whether justly or not I cannot tell, of being cheated; in others they are not treated with common decency: men and women, boys and girls, coming from a distance to work, having no accommodation provided for them, are compelled to herd together in any empty building on the estates, insomuch that decent people will not go themselves, and are afraid to allow their children to go to work at a distance from home, because of the degrading and corrupting influences to which they will be exposed.

"As regards this neighbourhood, I can speak from personal knowledge. So far from there being any want of labour, the supply exceeds the demand. Even during the last pimento-crop, the largest ever known, there was an abundance of labour. During its brief continuance good wages were paid, and the people poured down from the mountains to the lowlands in multitudes to get employment. They worked early and late: they sacrificed ease, comfort, health, and in several cases life itself, to make money. Individuals earned 3*s*. and 4*s*., and some it is said 5*s*.

or 6*s.* a day, doing two days' work in one. Now, I know that these high wages cannot be paid at all times, or for all kinds of labour; that the pimento-crop must be quickly gathered in, or it is lost, and as it (before the late depression in the market) fetches a good price, good wages could be well afforded; but this fact is proved—that the people will not only work, but work with energy, rapidity, and for prolonged hours, when well remunerated.

"Frequently I hear of labourers going to the estates to seek for work at 1*s.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* per day, and are unable to obtain it. Consequently they are compelled to work their own grounds, if they have any—if not, to be idle.

"2. Within the last eight or nine months better wages have been paid on the estates. Most of the work is done by job, and industrious persons earn 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.*, and in the boiling-houses, where they have to work until a late hour at night, 2*s.* per day; but of course the number of persons earning the latter sum is very small. For cane-cleansing, however, only 1*s.* is paid to able hands, and 6*d.* and 9*d.* to children and young people—a very inadequate remuneration.*

"The improvement in wages has, however, been accompanied by a rise in the price of all the necessaries of life; so that the people complain of the difficulty of living, almost as much as when they could not get more than 1*s.* a day. If, however, provisions and clothing fall to their ordinary price, and they can earn 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, they will be better off than for several years past.

"No fact can, I am persuaded, be better established than this—that when the people are kindly treated, and fairly paid, the planters can get all the labour they require. If, therefore, more immigrants are introduced, the native labourers will be supplanted, unless cultivation be greatly extended.

"3 to 7. I regret to say that I have not succeeded in obtaining replies to these questions.

"8. Very few immigrants have been brought into this neighbourhood except Europeans, some seventeen or eighteen years ago, nearly all of whom died soon after they landed.

"Nearly all the surviving Coolies, I understand, have abandoned the estates, and have either returned to India, or are employed as pedlers. Except on a very few estates, I cannot hear that the Chinese are anywhere employed—many of them have become vagrants and thieves. Native labourers are everywhere preferred. There is, I believe, no difference of opinion in this island as to the fact that European, Chinese, and Coolie immigrations have been failures. The mortality amongst the immigrants has been fearful; vagrancy and immorality have been increased; scarcely any additional labour has been obtained, while the island has been almost ruined by debt and increased taxation, literally to take the bread out of the mouths of the emancipated peasantry.

"The great cry is for African immigration; and if Africans could be honestly obtained, they would, no doubt, make as good labourers, but certainly not better, than our native peasantry. Yet the introduction of the few who have been brought has not been without a serious drawback—the revival of Obeahism, which has spread throughout the island.

"The only place from whence negro labour can be obtained is Bermuda. But our planters have no wish to avail themselves of the market open to them there. The reason is obvious: it may be found in the Immigration Act."

"St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica.
"February 25, 1858.

"By the last mail I duly received your letter of January 14, on "The Labour Question," and am not surprised to learn that the West-India Body is anxious to introduce labourers into these colonies *en masse*. A variety of concurrent circumstances have shewn that we ought not to be unprepared for this move. To suppose, however, that labour, and labour *alone*, is all that is needed to remove 'all local and other evils,' is sheer folly, and, if tried, will result in disappointment and loss. A *sufficient* supply of *good* labour is, of course, absolutely necessary to carry on cultivation; but that being obtained, there are many other things needed as equally essential to successful and remunerative cultivation.

"The question, 'Is there sufficient available labour in Jamaica to carry on cultivation?' is one on which I fear you will find great diversity of opinion; some parties contending strongly that there is no lack of labour, and others that there is a great lack. But I had better, perhaps, take your queries seriatim.

"1. 'Is there any want of labour in your colony, and, if so, to what extent, and to what general causes is it to be ascribed?' In reply, I may say that I do not feel myself in a position to speak on this subject with reference to the *whole* island. In some localities I believe labour is more abundant than in others. In my own district, extending from Landovery in St. Ann's, to, say, White River (the line of St. Mary's), embracing about thirteen miles in length, the labour supply is, I believe, AT TIMES *precarious*. Sometimes hands to *get work* will be early at the estate to be the first, and to secure work; and both last and this year I have known times when labourers have been turned away from estates because there was no work, or too many hands to do the work. At other seasons, again, planters

* Keeping down wages, for any kind of labour, to 9*d.* and 1*s.* a day is injurious to all parties. The people think they are underpaid, and many of them, instead of being stimulated to industry, do as little work as possible.

have a difficulty to get hands enough, and would be thankful for more. The seasons which favour the *planter*, and make him anxious to get hands at a push, are equally favourable to the *peasant*, who is equally anxious to attend to his grounds, on the proper and extensive cultivation of which very much depends the supply of our breadkind (equal to your potatoes). Another season when planters in *this district* feel the want of labour is the *pimento season*, when the people generally attend to the picking of the allspice, by which they can earn better wages with less labour and trouble. When the pimento crop is *very abundant*, then the labour supply is no doubt inadequate. Last year we had on the *lowlands* an unusually large crop. Hundreds of mountain people came down to help pick, and yet hundreds of barrels of pimento were lost for want of hands to pick it IN TIME; for, if not taken in within a certain time, the berry spoils, and is useless. These two causes, I believe, are the chief *here* which affect the labour market. If *proper provision* were made on estates to receive people from the mountains, and *sufficient inducements* held out to them, I believe a large number would come down to labour; but even then the two causes I have referred to would still influence the market.

"2. 'Are the native labourers fairly remunerated for their labour on the estates, and are their wages regularly and punctually paid?' Generally speaking, I believe the labourers are fairly remunerated, and their wages are regularly paid on estates *every Friday evening*, on pens, when job-work is properly finished.

"3. 'What number of immigrants has been introduced in your colony since emancipation, and where did they come from principally?' From 1834 to 1843 there were introduced 2685 immigrants from Great Britain, and 1038 from Germany; in all, 3723. Since then few Europeans or white Americans have been imported. The total number of immigrants from *Africa*, from 1834 to 1846, was 2784. I have not at *present* any documents to ascertain *correctly* the number since 1846 imported from Africa, but I believe it is very small. The number of Coolies I cannot now give. No doubt others will supply this information. If by next packet I can obtain particulars, I will send them.

"4. 'What number of immigrants have returned?' Cannot state number exactly. Most of the Europeans died not long after they arrived. Some of the Coolies returned to India, but I think very few. As a general reply to this question, I should say not many have returned.

"5. 'What number have died in the colony, &c.?' Cannot tell. *Most* of the Europeans, but I have not heard of any particular number of deaths among the Coolies or the Africans.

"6. 'What wages have they been in the habit receiving?' I think, the usual wages. But the following return, so far as Coolie labour goes, will shew its cost.

*Return of Coolie Labour, and Expenditure connected therewith.**

No.	Place.	No. above 8 years. Female.	No. above 8 years. Male.	No. of working days, at 6 days each week from arrival.	No. of days' labour actually given.	No. of days lost by sickness of Coolies.	No. of days lost by absence of Coolies.	No. of days lost, though not sick nor absent.	Total Expenditure incurred on account of Coolies, including wages, allowance, tax, medical attendance, but excluding expense of erecting house.
	Parish of Hanover.								
	New Paradise	34	4	6675	2924	2832	295	624	333 18 4
	Alexandria	35	4	6084	3503½	2284½	140	156	280 0 6
	Argyle	38	8	5858	3345	1131	78	1296	282 15 9
	Pell River	23	6	5070	2262	2798	10	..	278 14 8
	Georgia	25	8	5667	2033½	2050	679	904½	231 5 11
	Saxham	12	9	3664	2949½	339	217	158½	184 15 7
	Kew	18	3	3815	1476	1362	550	427	188 7 8½
	Content	25	2	4731	3804	578	22	327	252 12 5½
	Chester Castle	35	2	6176	4301	808	653	414	403 13 6
	Content	25	2	4731	3804	578	22	327	252 12 5½
	Friendship and Greenwich	35	3	6196	2800	821	2400	169	392 10 9½
	Meyersfield	37	3	6924	4981	1629	120	194	382 10 6
	New Hope	21	3	3319	1973½	1041½	30	275½	161 17 7
	Mint	25	3	4667	2386	1338	641	302	218 19 9
	Blue Castle	28	10	..	2078	..	3106	..	185 0 0
	Mesopotamia	36	3	5616	3973	1411	175	57	310 3 8
	Quebec	19	1	1720	1279	426	..	35	115 14 4
	Whitehall	24	4	90	57	33	..	..	138 14 5

* A calculation, based on this return, shews that immigrant labour costs a fraction above 1*s.* 10*d.* a-day, exclusive of lodging. Setting the latter at the rate of only 2*d.* a-day, we may fairly estimate that the planter pays 2*s.* a-day for Coolie labour.—ED.

"I could go on quoting other returns, but the above will shew how matters stand as to the proportion of the sexes, the proportion of days given in lost, and lost by sickness or absence, and the wages, or cost of maintenance.

"7. 'Average cost of an immigrant, inclusive of his passage to the colony and back?' Am not aware.

"8. 'What proportion of immigrants have worked on the estates?' Do not know; but many of the Coolies have become pedlars, and have supplanted the Creole pedlars. They are good hands in buying and selling.

"9. 'What effect has their introduction had on the labouring population?'

"1. 'Has it reduced the rate of wages?' Not in this district.

"2. 'Has it forced the native labourers to seek occupation on their own grounds?' No. Indeed the number of immigrants imported has not been sufficient for this. If immigrants came *en masse*, the effect no doubt would be to *do away* with Creole labour, which would then be either lost to the community, or spent on the provision ground.

"3. 'Has it affected the morals of the people?' I have heard that in some places it has, but the number of immigrants in this neighbourhood is so small as not to exert any serious and evil influence.

"Whatever might be my views as to the necessity or otherwise of immigration, the Act 21 Vict. c. 5. contains several clauses which are very objectionable.* The immigrant is not at liberty to choose his master: the Immigration Agent-General has the apportioning of them. The indenture is to last five years, unless special contract for three years was agreed upon before embarkation. On sale or transfer of property to another owner, the immigrants to be transferred to new owner, unless the original contractor remove them to other properties belonging to him. No immigrant may leave estate during working hours without written permission, and may be apprehended without warrant; and at no time, except Sundays and holidays may he go beyond five miles from estate without ticket of leave: when so found, may be apprehended without warrant, and committed to prison. The Governor may fix on any place from which immigration may be carried on. This scheme may be worked so as to produce a state of Russian serfdom; and if Africans are brought from a slave country, we shall have a sort of semi-slavery.

"Some of the clauses which appear to bear hard on the indentured African no doubt arise from the fact that the contractor is to *pay* for his hands. He must meet the expense of bringing them, and, if so, he has a right to be protected in the advantage and benefit of their labour—a claim which appears only fair and just.

"But, dear Sir, there is one question which forces itself on my mind, and which is continually presented by the advocates of immigration. Why admit *slave-grown* produce into your market, when you are trying to put down Slavery, and prevent the slave-trade being encouraged by immigration schemes? It does seem to me passing strange and inconsistent for the British nation to attempt the overthrow of the slave-trade, and yet to encourage Slavery in all its horrors by taking slave-grown sugar. For one, I shall be glad to see the day when slave produce, and slave-grown sugar among the rest, shall be shut out of the British market altogether, and free-labour produce only welcomed. When we are thus consistent, then we shall be more successful in our efforts to put down the slave-trade, under whatever pretext carried on. You will, no doubt, hear more about this new Immigration Act. From what I see, many begin to feel very much opposed to it.

"Waldensia, Falmouth,
"P. O., March 4, 1858.

1st and 2d. "I do not think there is *any want*, but *if there is*, an advance of 20 per cent. on any kind of labour would induce the people to leave their own work, and labour on the estates. At the August and Christmas holidays the people, after a week spent in visiting, feasting, &c., often take two or three weeks to their provision grounds. Should they leave work after they have commenced they are liable to be prosecuted for breach of contract. And as the estates' work cannot always be depended on, they are compelled to have their own provisions to fall back upon at such times: and sometimes, after drought, and the rains set in, they leave the *cane clearing* for their own lands; but I do not think the *crops are ever hindered from being gathered in* on this account. Just now it is dry weather, and in the middle of crop, and on three estates out of four, labourers are turned away every week. If labour is deficient, there is generally some special reason for it: less wages than on neighbouring estates; unkind treatment and coarse language, either from managers or headmen: detaining wages, *altogether* or *for a time*, for trifling offences; payment *too late on Saturday* to enable them to attend market to buy their week's provisions; want of water to turn the wheel, or inferior canes yielding very little for the task, frequently being obliged to work twenty-four hours successively for what they should earn in ten or twelve. I believe for the most part the money to pay for labour is generally *provided regularly*, but often delayed in payment as a summary punishment.

"As to *fair wages* I cannot tell what to say.

* The Act which has been disallowed.—Ed.

Gangs of strong adults of men and women are paid 1*s.* per day, labouring from half-past six A.M. to four P.M., with one hour's rest. Any special job 1*s.* 3*d.* 2d gangs, 9*d.* per diem; 3d gangs, from 4½*d.* to 7½*d.*: some, I have heard, 3*d.* per day. Headmen about 1*s.* 6*d.*; mechanics 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* (rarely the last). Cane holes in fallow, without any preparation, 4 feet square, 2*s.* per 100; clearing canes from 3*s.* to 6*s.* per acre; clearing pasture, 1*s.* to 4*s.*; planting cane, 6*d.* per 100 holes, or 10*s.* per acre; sugar-making, all about the mill and boiling-house, 3*d.* per syphon. A syphon may be made from two and a-half to three hours in good mills and favourable circumstances, but sometimes takes four, and even six hours, when water is low or canes inferior. This is the cause of much complaint, and people will flock to *good* mills and *good* canes, and earn more wages. It is usual, where the mills grind slowly, to work day and night, from which arises many evils and much immorality. Some job-work *sometimes yields* 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per day.

3d and 4th. "See Blue-Book returns. Mostly Indian coolies; some from China and Africa. A few shiploads sent back to India, but nowhere else.

5th. "I cannot tell. I believe not 50 per cent. have *ever* been able to till the soil. I should think 30 or 40 per cent. a low computation for deaths, and of those that are left I know not six estates in the whole island where they now *regularly labour*. The Africans have three separate colonies, or rented land, near my residence, where they live in concubinage, and practise all their African superstitions.

"The few Chinese that live are mostly mendicants. The Coolies from India, pedlars, and shopkeepers. Also the Portuguese are shopkeepers.

6th. "Don't know, but often complaints are made by them, mostly arising from stoppage of wages, I imagine either for indolence or sickness.

"A Chinese interpreter told me they were disappointed because they purchase less here for 1*s.* than they could in China or India for 2*d.* or 3*d.*

7th. "I believe about 15*l.* per head, not including return passage.

8th. "Answered above. All were placed *on estates,* but most of them soon left, and wandered about most pitiable spectacles.

"A great deal of ill feeling was incurred at first, and many of the best labourers left the estates, and have formed their own settlements, buying from a quarter of an acre to ten or twenty acres of land each, first at a high price, now from 40*s.* to 5*l.* an acre. These form the most moral and thriving part of our population, and will not return to the estates to labour. If emigrants once more displace the labourers now on the estates, such will no doubt be the case again, and the planters will eventually suffer the most. A considerable portion of those who labour on estates also rent from one to two acres of land, where they grow provisions. Rent paid, from 18*s.* to 40*s.* per acre per annum. The emigrants have done all that idolaters and pagans *can do* to lower the morals of the people.

"Rarely have either Indians, Chinese, or Africans *ever regarded the Sabbath* or the house of God. The swinging festivals of the Coolies were common while a sufficient number of them were together to practise them; and the Africans take the lead in the revival of the horrid Obeah practices of Slavery. One African lies in jail for murder in the adjoining parish at the present time.

"P.S. On my way down to post this letter I saw large gangs at work at cane-clearing at a quarter before four o'clock, and I have seen them after that time. This is usual, though tasks may be concluded earlier."

"Montego Bay, Jamaica,
"March 5th., 1858.

"1. I do not believe that there is any real want of labour in this colony: on the north side of the island, where are to be found the principle sugar properties, I am sure there is not. During the last twelve months, I have made extensive inquiries on the subject from labourers, merchants, and planters, and have been invariably told that labour is abundant. It consists, with my knowledge, that numbers who apply for labour are constantly sent away from the estates, with the assurance that they are not wanted.

"2. The labourers are not fairly remunerated for their labour, in very many cases. Their wages are not regularly and punctually paid: many estates only pay once in two or three weeks, and then only a portion of what is due. This brings about many disputes, and drives the best people from the properties. I believe the people, from not being able to keep accounts, often think they are cheated when they are not; and I am afraid that not unfrequently a portion of what is due to them is unjustly withheld. It would be a good thing for all parties if payment could be made in full once a week. I saw a letter in a paper, a few weeks ago, complaining that though it was the end of January the people had not turned out to work on the property since the Christmas holidays. This was true; but it was also true that no wages had been paid them for seven weeks before Christmas, and the people had therefore determined not to work on that property again till arrears were paid up. It being crop-time, the loss to the proprietor must have been very great. It is on such occasions that the cry for immigrants is raised.

"3. I cannot tell how many immigrants have been brought to this colony since freedom: I suppose a record has been kept, but I have no means of seeing it. They have been brought from Ireland, Madeira, China, and India: a few only have been brought from England.

"4. I cannot tell.

"5. We have no registry in this island either of births or deaths, so that it cannot be known how many have died. It is, however, my own conviction, from inquiries I have made, and from what has come under my own personal knowledge, that at least thirty per cent. have died within two years after their arrival, whilst very few of the children born have lived. The Irish nearly all died. The Portuguese, from Madeira, perished very rapidly. On two properties, where a number were located, all, with two or three exceptions, died in a few months. The Chinese I have seen were wretched objects, begging about our streets. Large numbers of Coolies were at one time in the hospitals, many of whom died. A goodly number have been sent to the Penitentiary, for theft and other offences. Some of the Coolie women have become mistresses, or concubines, to the overseers.

"6. They were paid, when working on the estates, from 9*d.* to 1*s.* per day. In some cases the employer fed them; but this lasted only for a short time.

"7. I cannot tell.

"8. Most worked on estates when they first came, but afterwards many of them became higglers and shopkeepers; and a few of such, I should think, did very well. This was not, however, what the planters wanted.

"9. I do not think that the wages of the people, except perhaps in a few instances, have been reduced by the introduction of immigrants. I believe, however, that many of the best labourers have left the estates, rather than work with the immigrants, whom they looked upon as persons brought to the country to supplant them in the labour-market. They have often been taunted by their employers, who have used words like the following: 'Oh! when we get all the immigrants we want, we will do without you.' Nothing has brought about so much bad feeling between labourer and master as the introduction of immigrants. The effect on the morals of the people has, I fear, been bad in the extreme. I attribute the late increase in the practice of Obeahism entirely to the introduction of African immigrants and African soldiers. The Coolies keep away from all places of worship: they practise their idolatrous rites. Some time ago, hook-swinging was practised by them, for several days, on the south side of the island, in the presence of an immense multitude of the natives of the country and many white people. The Chinese have committed many robberies—some of an extensive character."

"Mount Carey, Montego Bay,
"March 6th, 1858.

"Mr. —— has forwarded to me certain questions on the subject of immigration to this colony, of Africans, Asiatics, &c., for agricultural purposes, but I am sorry to say I have mislaid the questions, and therefore cannot refer to them in the order in which they stand on your paper, though I may to the general subject.

"The question of labour and its supply in this country has been a vexed question from 1838 to the present period, and is but little understood by friends in the mother country.

"Immediately after 1838, the people, in consequence of the double rent system, and other acts of tyranny and injustice, left the estates on which they had lived and worked as slaves, and now, to the extent of at least 100,000 acres, have purchased for themselves land, on which they have erected dwelling-houses, and where they grow also an abundance of ground provisions, not only to serve their own consumption, but also to meet the requirements of the population generally. They have thus made themselves in some measure independent of other sources from which the necessaries of life might be obtained; and so valuable and necessary are the provision-grounds of the negro to him that no wages which might now be offered to him would induce the abandonment of their cultivation. Yet it is quite true that the peasantry generally have no means of obtaining money to any great extent, excepting as the result of labour on sugar properties, breeding pens, coffee properties, &c. It will therefore at once be seen that there is an opposition of claims and interests, the peasant regarding (and rightly so) his grounds as having the first claim, and the planter looking at sugar cultivation as the most important: this difficulty is felt at certain seasons of the year—that is, the season for planting provisions—and at such times there is no doubt a paucity of labour in some localities.

"There is another fact that must be taken into consideration, and that lies at the very foundation of all harmonious working between the employer and the employed—there is no mutual confidence and sympathy. The people believe the planters, as a body, to be selfish, grasping, dishonest, and still desirous of coercing labour; and, with honourable exceptions, it is so. On the other hand, the planters believe the peasantry are an inferior order of beings, constitutionally lazy, and almost universally dishonest; and there are, no doubt, instances of laziness and dishonesty, and I do not scruple to tell them so. So it is there is almost universal distrust. These feelings need not, would not, have existed, had a different course been pursued in connexion with the new state of things that commenced in 1838; but the planters have tried to graft on the new state of things the old habits and customs of Slavery. This has been very properly resented; and now, except in certain cases, there exists discord and ill-will instead of union and co-operation.

"Another fact that will account for some of the difficulties that have occurred in sugar culti-

vation is, that some planters are trying to cultivate without capital: they fail in their object, and, of course, the reason assigned is, the people will not work. Another difficulty that is one of the most serious in its effects, is the unpunctuality and irregularity with which wages are paid when due; two, four, six, and sometimes eight weeks are allowed to elapse whilst the hire of the labourer is kept back; and then, when the wages are paid, mistakes and mischief occur, and mutual recrimination takes place. Where the abovementioned causes are not in operation, I give it as my decided conviction that there is no want of labour, and that sugar cultivation is progressing, and profitable to all parties. I will only add one or two illustrations of what I have stated. The people on an adjoining estate were not paid for seven weeks before Christmas, and, as a natural consequence, they would not turn out after Christmas until their wages were paid; and who can blame them? Again, a man engaged to work at 2*s.* per day, as wheelwright: the work took four days; it was performed; the money was applied for; and then the applicant was told that he would only get 1*s.* 6*d.* per day instead of 2*s.*: that, however, was not paid at the time, and the poor man was under the necessity of walking or riding seventy miles, and had to wait six months before he obtained the six shillings instead of eight.

"I know persons who travel thirty miles to work on a certain estate in the parish of Westmoreland, because they are allowed to work for as much as they please, and are sure of getting the amount they earn, though there are estates very near to them, where they could get work, but where they could not earn much, and would have to wait long before they obtained the little that was due to them. These facts are only mentioned as a sample of that which is of frequent occurrence; and my decided conviction is, that no labouring people in the world would be more quiet and forbearing than are the labourers in this country, under the petty annoyances and dishonesty to which they are subject.

"Let these things be removed, and I am certain there will be no want of labour in any part of this island. I am somewhat acquainted with twelve sugar estates in this neighbourhood, on which members of my congregation are labouring, and, excepting at the planting season, there is more labour at command than the planters can employ. There is no want of immigrants here. There are a few in the neighbourhood, poor diseased miserable creatures, but the planters themselves being judges, they are unfit for general estates work.

"What we want, more than any thing else, is capital—a resident proprietary body. Kindly and faithful treatment to the labourer, and the sugar crops might be increased to an indefinite extent. There is no doubt, that during the last and present year, our planters have done well: some have amassed as much as 20,000*l.* in a short period. Their appetites have been whetted, and now they are thirsting for greater gain, by introduction of labour that they may be able to coerce. I have no hesitation in saying, that not an overseer, or book-keeper, or labourer, has been one shilling the better for the better price in sugar: all the gains have gone into the pocket of the attorneys and proprietors in this country or in England. I enclose three resolutions that were passed at a public meeting held at Mount Carey on the 3d of March. The object is to rebut the vile slanders heaped upon the emancipated peasantry of this country in the London *Times* and some of our colonial newspapers, and also to express our opinions respecting the new Immigration Bill. I also enclose a Memorial that has to be forwarded to the home Government by the present packet, asking its disallowance, though I very much fear we may not succeed. I venture to predict that the scheme, like all others, will result in the death and destruction of the poor creatures that are brought in under it, and that not a thousand hogsheads of sugar will be added to our production, while the end will be bitter disappointment to all parties.

"I should like to have said something on the results of freedom to the inhabitants of this colony. The idea of its being a failure is simply ridiculous; it is a triumph, a noble triumph, our enemies being judges; and though every hogshead of sugar, and every sugar estate, had been valueless, still I should have said it is not the fault of freedom to the people, but that it arose from other causes. A conference of ministers of the gospel is to be held at Falmouth on the 3d of March, to take up the question just referred to, and doubtless you will hear further on the subject.

"Some persons in this country are just entering upon a crusade against the new Slave Bill, which can never work any thing but mischief to this country, however it may do for Trinidad, and Demerara. You are at liberty to use the enclosed, if they will serve the cause we have mutally at heart.

"Lucea, Jamaica, March 8th, 1838.

"Sir,

"I have received, through my friend Mr. ——, a copy of a series of questions put forth by the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, with a request that I will send answers to them.

"Some of the questions require an amount of statistical information which I do not possess, and which is not accessible to persons residing at a distance from the seat of Government; but doubtless you will have answers from persons who will be able to give exact information, and I shall content myself with answering the questions in a general way

1. "The alleged want of labour does not exist in the parish of Hanover. I am firmly persuaded that labour is sufficiently abundant; and although I have heard over and over again the general cry, *Labour is needed*, I have failed to find the man that needs it. Every one says, 'It is not I that need it: I have as much labour as I require.' It is not to be denied that there exists amongst planters very generally a strong dislike to free labour, and that in consequence a large amount of labour has been driven off the estates; but still there is more labour available than planters can afford to pay for.

"It is not *labour*, but SLAVE-*labour*, that is wanted. The planters do not know how to use free men, and the people are becoming too intelligent to submit to be treated as slaves, and there is a strong wish to drive them off the properties, and to supply their place with forced labour. This is the whole secret of the matter. Let planters have capital to pay the people regularly, and learn to treat free men as such, and they will not have to complain of want of labour.

2. "Immigration has not increased the amount of available labour, and will not increase it; nor do the planters intend it to do so: they want to be independent of native labour.

"Immigration has been a great curse, both to the immigrants themselves and to our people, and it has been carried on at great expense.

"Let the Government issue a commission of inquiry, and it will be found, that although an increase to the *free population* of the island is very desirable, the cry for labour is a *false cry*, and the wicked slanders of the *Times* and other papers will be fully exposed.

"The Immigration Bill of last session is very nearly a Slave Bill. It may be productive of great mischief, but let none imagine that such a measure can be carried into effect in Jamaica. Slaves cannot be kept in the midst of our free people. It is the duty of all lovers of freedom, both in England and in Jamaica, to seek to prevent the said Bill from passing into law, or, if it pass, to oppose it by all lawful and peaceable means.

BARBADOES.

"Barbadoes, February 23, 1858.

"The unprincipled efforts of the West-India party, with a portion of the English press in its interest, to resuscitate, in a new form, the old system of Slavery in these colonies, are more matter of regret than surprise to those who know them. Their natural cupidity, and deeply-rooted prejudice with regard to the negro, have all along led them to look with disfavour at emancipation, and to misrepresent its results, in the hope of enlisting the sympathy and support of Government for their schemes. Generally speaking, these colonies, morally, socially, and even economically, were never in better plight than at present; and where the labourers are treated with but common honesty, there is nothing which any sensible man could find to regret in the change from slave to free labour Less produce is raised in most of them for exportation; but even that, as far as it may be considered in itself an objection, is the result not so much of emancipation itself, as of causes that had been operating for years previously to its advent; and in some measure, no doubt, to the reckless misconduct of the planters in dealing with it. If you look to the evidence accumulated by Parliamentary Committees for some years previously to the abolition of Slavery, you will find that almost all the colonies were in a rapid state of decay—the estates deeply mortgaged, in daily course of changing hands, and, in numerous instances, only cultivated from the necessity that existed in the state of Slavery of *feeding* the slaves. In respect of these, emancipation only facilitated the process of abandonment, by relieving the planter of the crushing necessity of providing for the labourers now free. The mortgagee pocketed the compensation for the slaves, and left the estate and its nominal proprietor to the fate which had been impending for years. A better spirit, an honester course of proceeding towards the free labourers than the planters thought proper to adopt, might even then have stayed the ruin with respect to some of them; but how they acted at that crisis let the annals of the apprenticeship, and the first couple of years of absolute freedom tell. The free labourers were actually driven from the estates, by reckless oppression, to occupy and cultivate land for themselves, wherever it could be obtained, on rent or purchase; and the gross misrepresentations and slanders that have to this day been poured upon them, in no light measure, afford satisfactory evidence that the old spirit is still actuating their oppressors, and would shew itself now, as then, in *acts*, if it dared. No longer possessing the power to bite, it yet growls and barks, to shew the will at least to do so.

"I need scarcely tell you that the indomitable laziness of the free negroes, their insolent bearing, and rapid relapse into the savage state, &c., of which so much is said, mean simply, in plain English, that they will only work upon the estates where they are honestly paid—will not quietly submit to be treated like dogs, and prefer, when they can, to cultivate for themselves rather than for others. There are, of course, some worthless exceptions among them, as amongst other classes of men the world over; but I mean to say that, as a whole, they are as industrious, as thrifty, and anxious to improve their condition as any other class I have ever known; and a proof of this is furnished in the very fact of their neglecting plantation work to the extent that they do.

In most of these colonies that description of work is at the lowest point of remuneration; whilst, in all of them, the revenue for the public service is mainly drawn from customs and excise dues on the necessaries and comforts of life, which are enormously enhanced in some of them by this taxation. The labourer finds it more to his advantage to rent, or, where he can, purchase land, and make a living by cultivating that; working only at spare times on plantations for hire. This is particularly the case in those colonies where population is sparse, and land abundant, and easily obtainable at a moderate charge; and, in most of these, the number of small landholders of this class, already large, is every day increasing. They buy waste land, clear it, build a cottage, and, on reliable testimony, are the most industrious, orderly, and morally and socially improving class in the community. Their only crime is that they don't work regularly, if at all, on the plantations, and expect, when they do, to be treated fairly, as *men;* and that, in the opinion of some planter folks (I am happy to be able to attest, not all), is a very serious crime indeed.

"I regret exceedingly that I cannot furnish the information you require with regard to the comparative working of free and slave labour. I have no doubt myself, that estates in this island are more profitably cultivated now than during Slavery; or, I should rather say, that the products are raised at less cost; and the fact that land generally fetches a higher price, as well as 'estates,' might be adduced in confirmation. But the data to prove this are in the hands of those who would scarcely think it their interest to establish the point. We have not yet quite relinquished all hope of protection from Government—something in the way of compensation for the losses we unavoidably sustain from emancipation, &c.—although we are not amongst the clamorous for that particular mode of exhibiting it which the *Times* and its correspondents are urging so very earnestly. To furnish reliable information of the kind you desire, it would be necessary to inspect estates' books for the two periods, and make some nice calculations, comparing one with the other: and I have no means of doing this.

"As regards the current rate of wages, the general conduct of the labourers, &c., I cannot do better than refer you to files of the *Liberal*, since April 11, last year, embracing an agricultural report for the several parishes distinctively, during the previous fortnight (between mails); and this report, as interesting to readers here, is copied in the ordinary issue, next in course, of the *Liberal*. The correspondents are among the most respectable planters of the island. The rates of wages during the period have been 10*d.* to 1*s.* per day, the former predominating; but the labourer, by task-work, sometimes earns a little more. In the crop, where paid by task—which is very commonly done—the earnings in a day may be 1*s.* 3*d.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and in some instances even 1*s.* 8*d.*, whilst at other times it may be as low as 2*d.* or 3*d.* The rule is to give so much for every hogshead of sugar made, the sum shared being generally about 4½ dols. to 5 dols. per hogshead. If it is 'a fine working day' at the mill—that is, with a good wind—the labourer may earn 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*, as I have said; but if the wind slacken, or fall calm—as it does sometimes for days—or there be heavy rain to interfere with the out-door work of cutting canes, loading, &c., he may come off with 2*d*, or even nothing at all. I do not like the arrangement myself, it has too much the character of a lottery to please me; but the labourers are said to be satisfied with it, and even to prefer it, in some instances, to the payment of a regular rate; and where they are not, as located labourers on the estates, restricted to 'Hobson's choice' in the matter, we have scarcely a right to find fault. I should not adopt it myself, if I had an estate in charge. But there are many other things that I should equally reject, in the present system of management, which are considered even more indispensable, and, as some planter friends assure me, 'make quite a mess of it.' It may be so.

"You may probably find, in the reports of our Governors, in the papers laid before Parliament, for the last ten or twelve years, useful information on some of the points you wish to elucidate; and, as coming from them, even general impressions will carry some weight, considering the classes with whom they mostly have intercourse. I have no access to these papers here."

The following is from a gentleman recently returned from an extended tour through the West Indies:

"Brighton, March 19th, 1858.

"The prosperous and densely populated island of Barbadoes, where we passed a month, is greatly benefited by its emancipation from Slavery, both morally and commercially. The planters find free labour much cheaper than slave labour. Governor Hinks, of Barbadoes, related the following fact to a highly respectable American gentlemen, from whom I received the account:—'An estate in Barbadoes, called Hayne's Estate, was during the time of Slavery worked by 230 slaves, and having occasion to be sold, it fetched 15,000*l.* Since emancipation, this estate has been worked by 60 free labourers and 30 children, and has produced *three times* the quantity of sugar that it did under Slavery; and having again to change hands, it has been sold for 30,000*l.*'

"As an evidence of the loyalty, quiet behaviour, and contentment of the coloured labouring people, I may inform thee that there is not a

single soldier in either of the islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, and Grenada. Good order is preserved by a few police.

ANTIGUA.

"Antigua, February 12th, 1858.

"Your favour of the 14th ult. is to hand, and as the subject to which it refers demands immediate attention, I proceed to reply to your questions without further preface.

"1st. Labour is wanted. The general causes may be, that our population has not increased; and, with the exception of about 2000 Portuguese from Madeira and the Cape de Verdes, we have no immigrants since emancipation.

"2d. Such as work steadily are fairly remunerated, and their wages are punctually and regularly paid weekly.

"3d. About 2000 Portuguese from Madeira, and some few, not long since, from Cape de Verdes. Further particulars will be forwarded next mail.

"4th. Antigua has never had immigrants from India, China, or Africa.

"5th. Particulars next mail.

"6th. The Portuguese receive, at present, men 8*d.* and women 6*d.* per day, as contract labourers, with house and plot of ground; but generally, as the native labourers, they prefer the job system, earning in crop-time 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per day.

"7th. The colony paid for the immigrants, men 3*l.* and women 2*l.* each, on their introduction. Many have returned, at their own cost.

"8th. Many leave the plantations on the expiration of their term of service (two or three years), and engage in traffic. The large majority remain as agricultural labourers.

"9th. The Portuguese being intelligent, their introduction has had a beneficial effect on some of the native labourers. They are more industrious, and generally afford continuous labour. The rate of wages has not been reduced. It has not supplanted native labour, nor has it forced native labourers to seek occupation on their own grounds, in the cultivation of provisions. Many of the native labourers cultivate the cane, on their own or on joint account, to a moderately large extent, and last year gave them handsome returns. The introduction of the Portuguese has operated beneficially on the morals of the native population: they are industrious and saving: many of them are now shopkeepers in the city and in almost every part of the island, to the injury of the native small dealer. The supply of labour is not equal to the demand, and this may be accounted for from the fact that many find it more advantageous to withdraw from continuous plantation labour to cultivate their own lands, &c. There is a want of confidence between the managers and labourers, the one believing the other anxious to overreach. This leads to much mischief, and tends to enhance the complaint of non-continuous labour.

"I inclose a memorandum of produce made and disposed of five years previous to emancipation and since, from which you will discover that production has not been diminished, and that, notwithstanding the want of labour, cultivation continues. This is, I should say, rather in favour of the labourers, who continue to take off the crops, notwithstanding many have withdrawn from continuous field labour. I have thrown these lines hastily together, hoping by the next mail to send you further information.

	CROPS.		Puns.
	Hhds. Sugar.	Puns. Rum.	Molasses.
1829 to 1833 ..	64,277 ..	13,695 ..	37,656
* 1834 ..	20,921 ..	2,380 ..	13,788
1835 to 1839 ..	76,447 ..	5,532 ..	50,260
1840 to 1844 ..	69,809 ..	2,681 ..	44,329
1845 to 1849 ..	60,169 ..	1,078 ..	36,454
1850 to 1854 ..	64,447 ..	3,237 ..	37,284
1855 to 1856 ..	30,771 ..	3,922 ..	13,040

The following are copies of replies to queries by an American traveller, who is still prosecuting a journey through the West-Indian Islands.

"Antigua, February 27, 1858.

"1. There is a decided improvement in the religious condition of all classes, and of the emancipated in particular. Emancipation has contributed in various ways. The masters' feelings have become more softened, not having the power to use the whip, &c., and the emancipated having more time and opportunity to attend to the religious instructions readily afforded by the ministers of the gospel; their children also are now trained and instructed, &c.

"2. Education has considerably improved; at present there are forty schools throughout the island; and so important is education considered, that the Legislature has set apart 1000*l.* per annum for its encouragement.

"3. The statistics would shew an increase of crime; for cases which used formerly to be disposed of by the *master* are now brought before the *magistrate;* besides, numerous Acts for the suppression of offences have passed the Legislature which were not in operation during the period of Slavery.

"4. From the depreciated value of the pro-

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* "1834 being the year of emancipation it is excluded from the return, as the crop was taken off partly by slaves and partly by free labour.

"1837 was a bad year; only 5434 hogsheads were made.

"1846 was a similar year; 7051 hogsheads were made."

ducts of the island in the home market, the value of lands has decreased in proportion; but shortly after emancipation, some planters sold a number of allotments, of thirty feet square, to the labourers, at the rate of 6*l.* per lot.

"5. There is greater security of person and property now than there was in the state of Slavery. And, in support of this opinion, the militia force was disbanded and totally abolished a very short time after emancipation.

"6. Generally speaking, at present, the day's work of the free labourer, for wages, is less than was that of the slave, *i. e.* the actual time employed; but as much or more work may be performed, for there has been no reduction of cultivation nor diminution of the crops.

"7. I am not prepared to answer fully what is the relative cost of free and slave labour, but no planter would return to the slave system if offered to him; the daily cost of labour is 6*d.* and 8*d.* per day; the present is generally considered the most economical andagreeable system.

"8. The labourers work by the day, or job, or both, as may be agreed on; contract labourers are considered to work eight hours; jobbers, longer or shorter, as it suits their convenience.

"9. Cultivation may not be considered so good in appearance, but, as before stated, there has been no diminution in the crops; on the contrary, there has been an increase.

"10. The cost of production has not been increased—I should rather say diminished—under the free system. One cause may be ascribed to the fact, that the planter pays for only the actual labourers, and not for children, &c.

"11. Emancipation is generally acknowledged to be a blessing. There may be some few planters who occasionally refer to the old system, but no one would openly advocate a return to Slavery.

"12. There never has been, at any time, any manifestation of vengeful feelings on the part of the emancipated for the things endured in Slavery; on the contrary, the feeling manifested is that of gratitude to 'King William, the Parliament, the people in England, and all good men, under God, who helped to make them free.'

"13. The labourers always take a great interest in the estates whereon they are treated kindly by the manager, especially those on which they were born, and particularly so if the estate is conducted by their old masters, or by their children.

"14. The understood time of daily labour is eight hours, but generally less is given to plantation work; the other portion of the day is appropriated by the labourers to their own purposes. In the southern, or mountainous part of the island, where land is abundant, they seldom work for the estates more than five days in the week, and frequently four only.

"15. All contract labourers are entitled to a house rent free: the usual rent paid for a small house in the villages is 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* per week.

"16. There is no tax peculiarly affecting the condition and circumstances of the labourers; the only tax which affects them is the tariff on articles imported, which reaches all classes indiscriminately.

"17. All persons having a particular property-qualification have the right of voting, without reference to colour or condition.

"18. They have been decidedly benefited by emancipation, in every respect, having all the privileges of *men*, with equal laws.

"19. A short period after emancipation the condition of some of the poor whites was rather difficult; unaccustomed to labour, they soon spent what they had received for their former slaves. The parishes came to their aid, by granting, in common with the poor of the island, a weekly allowance. Most of these, however, have passed from time to eternity. The poor of all classes are still provided for at, or through, the general poorhouse.

"The published official returns of sugar made during eighteen years is as follows: these eighteen years embrace the last six years of Slavery, the first six after emancipation, and the last six years to 31st December, 1857, viz.:

	Hhds.
Under Slavery, that is to say, from Jan. 1828 to Dec. 1833, inclusive,	79,253
After Emancipation, that is to say, from Jan. 1835 to Dec. 1840, inclusive	82,455
Last six years, that is to say, from Jan. 1852 to Dec. 1857, inclusive,	85,050

"By the census taken November 17, 1856, the agricultural labourers were, of all ages, 14,997; the entire population 35,408, including 847 from Madeira, and 183 from the Cape de Verde Isles. There are at present eighty-three villages."

The *Antigua Observer* of the 4th of March, commenting on the official returns of the exports of the island, remarks:

"Thus not only do the years of freedom shew an *increase* in the amount of our exports, but this increase has been steadily obtained even under a diminished rate of wages, which took place after the admission of slave-made sugars on equal terms into the British market. Our opinion is, that had that measure of imperial policy preceded by a dozen years or so the act of emancipation, the British colonies could never have withstood the shock, seeing that, with all the advantages of protection under the slave-system, the day that enfranchised the negro disclosed almost generally a condition of insolvency among the proprietary body which had

existed even in the 'palmy' days now by the enemies of freedom adverted to."

The Editor comments thus upon the articles in the *Times*, and plainly—at least to our mind—points out the difference that exists between a necessity for immigrant labour as a means of developing the latent resources of the island, and the demand made for it to work the estates already under cultivation. Whilst for the former purpose it would be desirable, for the latter it is said to be unnecessary. Let the article speak for itself:

"Had the *Times*, and the advocates of emigration generally, based their arguments upon the fact alone that additional agricultural labour is wanting in these colonies to develope our resources, that, numerically, the labouring population are inadequate to the cultivation of the soil to such extent as to paralyze the production of sugar by means of slave-labour, and urged upon Government and capitalists some feasible scheme for a supply, by clearly legitimate means, of the great desideratum, such a course would have been hailed by every man amongst us with heartfelt satisfaction. But, pointing to the depreciation of West-India property within the last twenty years, to the alleged impracticable character of the labouring classes mainly, are the reverses which have taken place most unfairly ascribed, instead of, more truthfully, to that act of imperial legislation, adverse to the once fostered West-India interest, which took place while yet the emancipation pæans were being sung even by that class who most dreaded the termination of Slavery. Against such a conclusion, so unjust in its application, and so false in its inferences, every unprejudiced man who has taken the trouble to investigate the matter must enter an indignant protest. Facts, opposed to mere vilification, must always triumph, and, with facts to support us, we have no hesitation in asserting confidently, so far as the circumstances of our own island are concerned, that, putting out of view, of course, the blow which the knocking from under our feet of the props of protection, and consequent monopoly in the home markets inflicted—almost every interest has decidedly improved since emancipation; that estates *perfectly unencumbered* and properly conducted are affording more or less of remuneration to their owners; that our peasantry are an orderly, sober, and—though not in the European estimate of the term, where clime and superabundant population stimulate to exertion—generally industrious; and that our exports of island products, and our trade generally, have kept pace with, and even exceeded considerably the later years of Slavery. Our religious statistics, too, exhibit considerable improvement over the days of Slavery, while there cannot be a doubt that knowledge of a useful kind, although of spontaneous acquirement, without, till the last few months, any help from the State, has made progressive strides. Labour and its value, like every other commodity, experience the fluctuations of demand, and as the supply proves in bountiful seasons inadequate, then, and only then, do we hear of the rising demands of the labourer for increased wages, and the consequent dissatisfaction of the planter. The contest in this case, very naturally, results in favour of the labourer, the rapidity of tropical vegetation under such circumstances rendering concession on the part of his emplayer imperative. But we never hear of those organized 'strikes' so common in England and elsewhere; and in fact, while in one district, and even on an adjoining plantation, labourer and employer may be found at issue, in the other and neighbouring estates both parties will be 'taking it easy,' and the work going on under, perhaps, a compromise with which both sides are perfectly satisfied. It is simply untrue to say, that such a state of things as we have truthfully described arises from any peculiar aversion of the rural population to labour. We do not find that, practically, labour has ever yet been recognised as a positive *good* by any condition of society, but rather as an unpleasant necessity entailed by circumstances which we would all otherwise dispose of if we could; and men, generally, are seldom stimulated to extra exertion but by the presence of actual wants, or by that yearning after artificial requirements and independence, which a high degree of civilization, such as we have no idea of claiming for our labouring population, suggests. In the case of *our* peasantry, there are proprietors and conductors of estates in the island who do not utter the least complaint with respect to labour facilities. They plant, and reap, and ship, year after year, as many, and *more* hogsheads of sugar than they ever did, the cost of doing which being absolutely dependent on the season, any extra luxuriance of which is made available at once by the estate labourer to obtain increased wages—the reverse, of course, in unfavourable seasons. But that production, the result of free labour, lags, in consequence of freedom, is untrue; while that it has been steadily progressing, the comparative tables, taken from the last six years of Slavery, the first six of emancipation, and the very last six years, down to the 31st December 1857, incontestably prove."

And thus speaks the same journal on the subject of immigration:

"There can be no doubt that the introduction of, perhaps, 5000 able-bodied labourers would be of essential service in further developing our capabilities as a colony; and as competition is the parent of enterprise and industry, it might follow that the foreign would act beneficially as a

healthful stimulant on the native labourer, and create in him an independent energy of character, which he, having for some time an undisputed monopoly of a material so much in request, at present wants. As colonists, and as philanthropists too, we would at once give in our adhesion to any plan which would induce perfectly free immigrants, by their own volition, and at the instigation of their own notions of self-interest, to come to our shores, where employment might be found, and, with steadiness, competency might eventually await them; but defend us, say we, from any science which, like that adopted by our French neighbours, shall people our land with men and women purchased from the hands of the man slayer and man stealer. Whatever our necessities may be, the idea of renewing the internal slave-trade of Africa, by means of the British West Indies, will, we fervently hope, be rejected, even if presented, as it now is, to the world under the most specious disguise. We shall return probably to this interest subject."

MONTSERRAT.

"Woodlands, Montserrat, Feb. 19, 1858.

"I have thought it best to devote a separate letter, to reply to your inquiries relative to the condition and conduct of our working-classes, &c.

"'1. *Any information as to the relative cost of estates under Slavery and free labour in Montserrat or Antigua.*'

"It is very difficult to get at the expenses under the old *régime*. As yet, I have not found any accounts on which I can depend. I have heard many gentlemen connected with estates say, at different times, that free labour was cheapest; and in this island the owners of task-gangs, or bodies of slaves hired by the owners to work on sugar estates, charged fully double what free labourers will now stoke-hole and crop-hole cane land for.

"'2. *The average price of labour for the last two or three years.*'

"In this island, for many years, and until the late rise in the price of sugar, it has been about 6*d.* per day, latterly about 9*d.*, for able labourers. In Antigua it used to be about 8*d.*, now 1*s.* per day. In both islands much of the work is done by task; *e. g.* about 60 to 70 feet square of land, 3600 to 4900 square feet, is stoked, *i. e.* the sod &c. ploughed up by hoe, for 8*d.*; the next operation is to hole, *i. e.* to hoe-plough the land into banks and furrows, for 1*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*; to weed young canes by hoe and hand, 6*d.* to 9*d.* These prices apply to this island; in some cases, latterly, higher prices are given. A task will be finished in six to nine hours; very few take a second task, but many occupy the rest of the day in their gardens, or looking after their stock, as most have a cow and goats tied out to feed. It is not found, in general, that more work is done in a week by enlarging the task and price.

"'3. *The disposition to work where regularly paid and fairly treated.*'

"The disposition to work, where regularly paid, on sugar estates, is much affected by local circumstances. The south side of Antigua and Montserrat generally is mountainous, with much land on the estates (which are generally large as to extent,) not available for cane, but excellent for provisions, and with many stock or other properties where sugar-cane is not cultivated. Under these circumstances land is easily obtained on rent, or by purchase; and this applies to all our West-India colonies, except Barbados and some districts of particular islands. In all such situations, in Slavery, the people were permitted to cultivate provisions, and, in many cases, entirely, or nearly, supported themselves by the labour of occasional Saturdays and Sundays. In this island, very generally, no regular allowance was given—never of meal or dry food—except only a little salt fish. Undoubtedly the labourers live better now than in Slavery, eat more and better food; and in those districts, food, as yams, eddoes, taniers, bananas, plantains, &c. are largely cultivated; so that the town markets are well supplied, and, in some cases, provisions are exported. Latterly, many of the people plant canes, in small patches of one quarter to three or four acres, and get them ground and made into sugar on the nearest estates: thus partly occupied, they also work on sugar estates for hire, for from one-half to two-thirds of their time in this island. Of Antigua I cannot write with any certainty as to the proportion of labour in the mountainous, or south side; in the other parts of Antigua the land is generally fit for cane, and the estates are smaller, though with as much or more cane cultivation. Land is generally much higher priced, and only to be obtained in a few places; so the people, having little land of their own, or on rent, work more regularly on the estates for hire. Such is the love of place and family connexions that few move to distant parts of the same island, although land there could be easily obtained. The negro works less vigorously or continuously than an English labourer at home; the climate is such as to lead all who dwell here to desire little exertion—all are less energetic, but the negro is the best labourer we have; assuredly he does more in a day than a Portuguese or Coolie. If they had more wants, I believe they would be much more industrious; as it is, very generally all their wants are fully supplied, they are content with very little. Doubtless there are many exceptions—negroes who really have many comforts around them, the fruit of their industry. It also must be remembered that a

very large portion of their employers have only received them as machines, or animals, and have rather thought ignorance best for them; as it is, it will take time to create a desire for a higher state, for better houses, furniture, &c. To possess land is a ruling passion; multitudes in all the colonies have attained their wish. This to you would indicate a higher state than really exists as the rule. Probably this desire to get land—natural to all men—has been stimulated in the free negro by the attempts on all sides to coerce him while on another's land. Some years back, and during all the apprenticeship, this was the general rule of practice on estates. As to the effect of fair treatment and regular payment, I believe, in Antigua, the latter is the universal rule; here still, in some cases, not, and decidedly to the injury of the employers' interests. While I write, I hear a considerable number of labourers have struck work, wages not being paid for two and three months. Very much depends on the temper and fair dealing of the employer; a bad-tempered man will always want labour.

"'4. *Their moral and religious state as compared with Slavery, &c.*'

"I have been in the West Indies nearly forty years, and have, I think, been somewhat observant of the condition of the people. I am sure that Slavery was as great a curse to the white as to the black; indeed, in one view, a greater—the negro, under Slavery, still progressed. Compare the Creole slave with the newly-imported African. He (the Creole) was more civilized, raised in the scale of humanity. This rule applied to all our slaves in some degree, and especially in the latter years of Slavery: so, in spite of Slavery, he did improve, though slowly. Not so with his taskmaster. All my observation (and I saw Slavery in many of our colonies, and also in some of the French and Spanish), tended to prove that the white man did not progress, did not stand still, but was continually becoming more and more demoralized and debased in mind and body. Contact with Slavery more or less contaminated and lowered the white man in the scale of humanity. Now, if these views are correct, it is evident that the free man must have progressed, and so he has; not as much as some expected, but perhaps as much as, under a calm survey of all the circumstances of his case, could well be expected. At any rate, the outward signs of morality and religion in these islands will compare well with those of England. I am persuaded that a stranger, having an opportunity of seeing a Sabbath-day in Antigua or Montserrat, and in any town or village selected in England, would hardly decide against us. Still I would by no means desire you to think that the standard of morality or religion is really high; and certainly the intellect is but little cultivated. Much of the immorality is clearly to be traced to the influence of Slavery. As to order and obedience to law, in Slavery we were not safe with a large body of regular troops and militia in every colony; now, in many—as Antigua, St. Kitt's, and here—we have neither, and do not want them. In these islands the peasantry have generally all their wants supplied, and are a well-behaved and orderly people, although I am of opinion that, very generally their employers have been influenced toward, them by very selfish and erroneous views, which have hindered progress, and consequently lessened the amount of labour, for with more light and knowledge would come wants which could only be supplied by industry.

"One thing is beyond all possibility of doubt—the sum total of human enjoyment and happiness has increased in these colonies since the abolition of Slavery beyond all calculation.

"The letters which appeared in the *Times*, and which I see in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, have really astonished me, that of 'Expertus' especially. Is it possible that such statements will gain credence in England? If so, I hope many will answer his calumnies and mis-statements. At the risk of trespassing too much on your time and patience, I cannot resist the inclination to make some comments on a few passages. He says: "Look to our West-India islands, to Jamaica, to Trinidad, to St. Kitt's, to Dominica, to St. Lucia (and, in another place), to Antigua. Does the earth own possessions fairer to view, and more grateful to the labour of man? Yet what are they now?—*wrecks*, *ruins*, *deserts*, with the faint impression of former wealth and a fading civilization, which becomes fainter and fainter every year; with towns at once *filthy*, *noisome*, and *pathless;* with mansions once grand and stately, now tottering to decay,' &c.

"In one thing I agree with 'Expertus.' I wish 'that some just-minded, honest-hearted, clear-sighted men would come' to Antigua or St. Kitt's, 'not for a month, but for a year, to watch the precious protegé of English philanthropists,' and honestly to report the result 'of their observations and inquiries.' I have known St. Kitt's and Antigua nearly forty years, the latter I have visited more than once yearly during that period. 'Expertus' never saw them, or surely he would not write of 'grand and stately mansions,' of 'Jew tradesmen,' of 'pathless towns,' and of 'negro squatters parading their insolent idleness on lands which they have occupied without purchase, and exhausted without cultivation.' 'Elsewhere,' he writes, 'he will cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own yams, MANGOES, and potatoes.' I will not stop to inquire by what process (unknown to enlightened Europe) Quashie has succeeded in 'exhausting lands without cultivation,' but assert that the man who classes 'mangoes,' the fruit of a large standard tree equal

to the horse-chestnut of England in size, and which requires no cultivation, with yams and potatoes, tubers of the earth, writes of what he has not seen. As to *wrecks*, *ruins*, and *pathless towns*, the fact is, that the city of St. John's, in Antigua, or the town of Basseterre, St. Kitt's, were never in such good order, repair, and cleanliness, as at present. It was only the other day that a beautiful stream of water was brought from the mountains into Basseterre; and a very handsome fountain imported from England, now sends forth its bubbling water in the centre of the principal square in that town. It is but a few years ago that Antigua expended upwards of 20,000*l.* sterling in the erection of a cathedral. All her churches and chapels (and they stud the island) are in good order. During the past year its handsome court-house has been repaired and improved, at an outlay of 3000*l.* The large building in which is the public library and treasury has had 2000*l.* expended on it, while several thousand pounds have been spent on the Government-house. These things are not the results of a year's high price of sugar; on the contrary, I can testify that whenever I visited Antigua, during the periods of greatest West-Indian depression, I always observed signs of life, and often of progress, in St. John's. All its public institutions are in a creditable state; the jail, poor-house, and Holberton Hospital, are in good order: the latter is conducted in a way most creditable to all concerned. Then there are the various stations with fire-engines, and an organized fire-brigade, all of recent date. 'Pathless towns,' says Expertus. Why there is no city in Europe where the streets are kept cleaner or in better order. As to 'wreck and ruin,' Expertus cannot shew it there. True, the great earthquake of 1843 did prostrate most of the mills and estates, sugar works, and many fine houses in the town; then there was wreck and ruin, but not the work of the poor negro; nor did it last. I suppose greater energy, by all classes, could hardly be shewn in any country than was manifested there; and by aid of a loan from Her Majesty's Government, all was soon restored. Yes, and the loan has been regularly repaid to this day, while loans in Slavery times are, many, still unpaid. What does 'Expertus' mean by 'a peaceful prosperity wantonly flung away?' The imports of St. Kitt's and Antigua have increased. At this time compare them with those of the palmy days of Slavery of which 'Expertus,' speaks; or even the exports of sugar—they now equal former years. Look at the towns: no signs of want or decay, all the chief business streets full of stores, and shops full of goods; rents high and rising, and houses very difficult to be obtained. These are stubborn facts. 'But,' says Expertus, 'it must be spoken out loudly, energetically, despite the wild mocking of howling cant. The freed West-India negro will not till the soil for wages. The freed son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire.' I would also loudly and energetically ask 'Expertus' to tell us who does cultivate the sugar estates in St. Kitt's and Antigua. No coolies, no Chinese, no Africans, only a few Portuguese have been imported, and yet about as much sugar, &c. is now exported as used to be in Slavery. Who makes it, if the freed negro does not?

"All 'Expertus' writes about squatting in these older colonies, or even in Guiana, is *bosh*. There are no squatters, *i.e.* men who set down on Government or waste lands, and cultivate them without permission, in St. Kitt's or Antigua, and *very few* anywhere in the British West Indies. The negro either lives on a sugar or other estate, where he pays rent—or if not, it is because the owner thinks it to his interest to give him the use and occupation of a cottage and plot of land, to secure his labour; or he rents one or more acres of land, as many do; or he buys land in fee simple: witness the numerous villages and wide acres of land bought and paid for by the freed negro. Now, will 'Expertus' tell us how Quashie gets possession of, perhaps, an acre or more of land, a cottage, a cow, a pig or two, several goats, fowls, &c., and often a horse and cart (which is always in requisition for hire on the estates), and for all of which he contributes his quota of taxes? We, who live among these freed negroes, are simple enough to believe that he has worked, and by the sweat of his brow has obtained and saved the money to purchase his property. It is notorious that every year adds to the number of the small landowners; while the character of the imports, compared with those of Slavery, shew, beyond all question, that better food, and more and better clothing, far more, is now used or consumed. I think if 'Expertus' would visit Antigua or St. Kitt's, and drive round any of the districts over the roads kept in such excellent order, and see the carts and horses of these freed negroes returning from or going to the towns with provisions, &c., or working on the estates, and look at the cultivation of the cane, and, if he ever saw it in Slavery, tell us how it compares, and then view the freed people's provision fields, clean and well-cultivated, that he would be obliged to confess that there was some mistake, and that his friends of the West-India body had only told him one side of the question.

"My time will only permit one more notice of this remarkable correspondent of the *Times*. For all he says of a 'moral blight brooding over islands which, in other hands than ours, and under other counsels than ours, might have been the suns and centres of a wide-spread happiness and civilization,' is, so far as it relates to the moral condition of the people, replied to in my answer to your queries; and if we are to judge of what might have been by what exists in other

foreign colonies, where Slavery, undisguised or in a modified form, exists, we lose nothing by the comparison. And it is worthy of remark, that where immigration has been most extensive, as in British Guiana and Trinidad, there more is to be seen of the moral blight, and other evils, of which 'Expertus' writes, than in those colonies where the emancipated blacks alone have been depended upon. 'Fortunately for the Barbadian planter, his little island is as full of inhabitants as a queen-ant is of eggs. There the labourers have been looking for masters, not the masters for men.' 'Had the same thing been true of other islands, they would probably have realized the same good fortune.' Here is the essence of the case. But does 'Expertus' think any plan short of Slavery can supply the labour he desires in our larger colonies, where land is so abundant and so fertile, where twenty or forty years' cultivation still leaves it rich in all its fertile constituents? Will not the thousands do as the thousands have done—better themselves as soon as they are free? And is it not much praise to the people and the planters in the old islands, where the population is so small compared with the acreage, that still they go on, and have succeeded in bringing up their cane-cultivation, with so much less manual labour, to equal the production under Slavery, and at less cost? for although I cannot with certainty say the cost of making sugar under the old system, yet I am fully persuaded, if all the charges are fully gone into, that the average in those days was over 8*l*. to 10*l*. per hogshead: for which it is now made.

"I hear that opinions are divided in Antigua as to asking for Sepoys from Her Majesty's Government. I fear, however, that most, if not all, the colonies will seek to get them, as they will hope not only to have them more firmly bound, and for a longer period, than other immigrants are by law allowed to be, but also to get them landed free of cost. I do not desire to see them, but if they come with a fair proportion of the sexes there will, I think, be little danger to the morals of the communities.

GRENADA.

"Grenada, February 25, 1858.

"The subject of the present want of labour in this colony, and the policy of emancipation, ought, I think, to be discussed independently of each other, or, I should say, on distinct grounds. That emancipation has been a successful line of policy, there can be no doubt; but it must also be admitted that it was the primary cause of the reduction in the number of labourers on sugar estates. I would ask, whether emancipation was not intended not only to raise the slave from bondage to freedom, but, being free, to advance his social condition. That social condition being improved, it was only natural that the freed man should, as soon as it was in his power, withdraw himself from a species of labour by which he had felt himself degraded, and which every pains had been taken, in this colony and elsewhere, to lower in his estimation. Had emancipation produced any other effect, it would not have answered its purpose, it would not have fulfilled its mission. Emancipation, to have been successful, must have raised the freed man in every respect far above his former condition; and as that condition is gradually improved, so will labour on estates gradually decrease. The want of labour at this time is, in my opinion, the best proof that emancipation is silently, gradually, and steadily fulfilling its mission.

"I as firmly believe that emancipation could have had no other result, if the friends of emancipation were sincere in their professions; as I know their exists at present a real and great want of labour in this colony, and that such want is the natural result of emancipation.

"A higher rate of wages, if the produce grown and manufactured could have borne the additional burden, might have delayed the abstraction of labour; but the result, sooner or later, must have been the same.

"Barbadoes is generally advanced, as an example of a result quite the reverse; but the slightest knowledge of the difference in the two islands would afford a sufficfent answer. If Barbadoes had waste lands in proportion to its superabundant population, I question whether its prosperity, depending as it does on its supply of labouring hands, would be equal to what it is. I firmly believe the result would have been the same as in this colony. No man will work on a sugar plantation, or elsewhere, for even fair wages, or for the mere pleasure of doing so, no more than a day labourer will continue as such in England or any other country, if he can better his condition by becoming a settler, either in his own country or abroad.

"The deficiency of labour can only be supplied by immigration. Unlimited or unrestricted immigration would not only be impolitic, but injurious to the best interests of humanity, to the immigrants themselves, and to the colony to which they were sent: in the last case an absence of all immigration would be almost preferable.

"Immigration must be gradual, and under the most stringent regulations; from the moment of leaving his own country, until he reaches his new abode, the guardianship and future welfare of the emigrant should be provided for, and fair wages secured to him by the strictest legal enactments. 1500 to 2000 immigrants annually, for the next four years, could be safely introduced into this colony, without affecting the interest of the present labouring population, either as re-

spects wages, or, by supplanting, drive them to seek other occupations. On the contrary, it would give a stimulus to the increased cultivation of provisions, by those already settled on lands of their own, and would make much land (now almost valueless for want of labour) valuable to its owner, and productive to a labourer. With reference to this colony, it must be always borne in mind the immense extent of valuable and fertile lands laying waste for want of labour to cultivate, and this quite independent of lands available for sugar cultivation. With increased available labour, the cultivation of cocoa, nutmegs, and other valuable articles of commerce, would be carried to an immense extent.

"To assert that emancipation and the want of labour have been solely the cause of ruin to West-Indian properties, and the abandonment of cultivation, is an assertion not founded on fact: but it may safely be asserted that the natural result of emancipation has been an abstraction or withdrawal of labour from the cultivation of sugar plantations, consequent on the improved social position of the labourer; and that although such withdrawal has been injurious to the owners of plantations, still a different line of conduct on the part of owners and their representatives in this colony, at the announcement of the state of freedom, would have averted much of the distress and ruin which followed. The want of steady, certain, continuous labour, must be admitted as a fact; and immigration appears to be the only remedy; but God forbid that in providing that remedy there should be the slightest approach to Slavery, or a renewal of the slave trade in any shape. But I think the colonists are entitled to sympathy, and every aid should be afforded them in procuring labour, by every fair and lawful means, from those sources from which the best descriptions of labour can be obtained."

"Grenada, February 25, 1858.

"'My Dear Sir,

"I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th ult., and to express my regret that a journal, conducted with so much talent, possessing so much influence, and so widely circulated as is the *Times* newspaper, should have been seduced to publish and to endorse the interested and foul aspersions which have obviously been penned by some *energetic*, *industrious*, and *labour*-loving West-Indian of the hitherto dominant class.

"The writer 'Expertus' is constrained to admit that 'Slavery is an evil thing; is accompanied, in its origin, with horrors; and is, as an institution, maintained too often with a degree of harshness which revolts us;' and yet he unblushingly designates the philanthropic and heaven-approving labours of the British Anti-Slaverists as 'humanitarian Quixotism.' The African chiefs and princes he unscrupulously invests with the right of selling their 'own kindred,' whom he designates their 'own people,' to the best bidder who anchors on their coasts.

"I certainly had hoped that sentiments so unworthy of the present age could not have obtained insertion in the London *Times*; but the 'mammon of unrighteousness' is powerful and superinducing, whilst 'Quashie and his tribe are impotent and uncivilized, and only to be regarded as thews, sinews, nerves, and brains,' and all, not as men, but as marketable cattle.

"In denouncing the African policy of the Exeter-Hall philanthropists, 'Expertus' invites the people of England to 'look to our West-India Islands—to Jamaica, to Trinidad, to St. Kitt's, to Dominica, and to St. Lucia, for lessons of warning, discouragement, and dissuasion.' He pronounces them 'wrecks, ruins, deserts;' with a large catalogue of disastrous changes, and by which he furnishes incontrovertible proofs of his own obliviousness, or, what is more, his premeditated falsehoods. He painfully laments the 'moral blight which broods over possessions so fair to the view, and so grateful for the labour of man;' and ejaculates the wish to Heaven that some people in England—'neither Government people, nor parsons, nor dissenters, but some just-minded, honest-hearted, and clear-sighted men—would go to some of the islands, say Jamaica, Dominica, or Antigua, not for a month, or three months, but for a year—not to toil in these fair possessions, so grateful for the labour of man, but to watch that precious *protégé* of English philanthropy, the freed negro in his daily habits, &c.' It is greatly to be feared, Sir, that if his deputation be large, and composed of the class of men for which he stipulates, a year's residence would have the effect of not only falsifying his representations, but afford additional proof of the 'moral influence and moral support afforded by the white man,' by inducing those alliances with Creole negresses, which tend to augment that 'community of aspiring Mulattoes,' the sons of Britons, who are every day affording unmistakable evidence of their moral and intellectual fitness for all the offices and duties of religious, political, and civilized life. Much less than a year's residence in either of the islands named, or in any of the West-India islands where the blessing of emancipation has been vouchsafed, would furnish to any number of just-minded, honest-hearted, and clear-sighted men, pleasing and unequivocal assurances of the entire success of the Abolitionists, in the cheerful happiness and prosperity of the emancipated classes.

"The crime of 'the freed West-Indian negro slave,' as alleged by 'Expertus,' is, that he will not work for wages—that he eats his yams and sniggers at Buckra'—'that he will sing hymns and quote texts; but honest, steady industry he not only detests, but despises.' This is a gross

libel. The emancipated negroes of these islands are quite as honest and industrious as the labourers of England. It is true that they detest working in gangs on sugar-plantations, because of its similitude to their employment in the days of Slavery, and of their utter detestation of that system. Their abhorrence of Slavery was exemplified by the large sums they cheerfully paid during the time of apprenticeship for their immediate emancipation. They have availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them to become settlers, as owners and renters of lands, of sugar-plantations abandoned after emancipation, owing to the unwillingness of British merchants to continue advances to nominal proprietors of estates whose insolvency had been notorious for years previous to emancipation. They are proud of their freedom, and not unnaturally regard their continued residence upon estates, and their dependence upon the proprietors for their houses, &c., as a relict of Slavery. This feeling, and its consequences, have caused, not idleness, and ingratitude, and contemptuous sneering at the industry of that race which made him free,' as alleged by 'Expertus,' but a large abstraction from sugar estates of labour which has been industriously bestowed upon the clearing of house spots, the building of cottages, (each labourer being generally his own carpenter,) and the cultivation of those provisions which now abound in their houses and in our markets, as well as cocoa and sugar, which are every day increasing in cultivation on their hired or purchased possessions. No honest-hearted Englishman who witnesses the manner in which our labourers cultivate their own grounds and cane-fields, would pronounce him lazy or idle; and the West-India planter is every day heard to exclaim, 'If they would labour *thus* for us, we would be glad to double their wages.'

"In reply to your queries, I beg to state, in respect to the first:

"1. There can be but one opinion as to the real want of labour in this colony, widened by the abandonment of several valuable estates, and the but partial cultivation of most of those that are still in operation.

"2. By the fact of there being extensive forests of excellent timber wholly unavailable at present, but which, with the aid of labour, and saw-mills, &c., might be used for building and other purposes, to the exclusion of the pitch-pine, the staves, and other lumber, largely imported from the United States and British America.

"3. By the circumstance of a large portion of the peasantry being now located on their own or on hired lands, where they cultivate cocoa, canes, and provisions; and by the independence which naturally results from their position, such occupation being more lucrative and more congenial to their feelings.

"4. Some of the plantations are without resident labourers, and are entirely dependent upon the labour of settlers within from, perhaps, one to three miles around or distant. This necessitates the loss of time occupied in a long walk to and from the estate, the labourer not arriving frequently before half-past seven to eight o'clock in the morning (instead of six o'clock); and should exception be taken to this, he not unfrequently replies, 'I come soon enough: if you do not wish me I can return.'

"5. The labour formerly had from married women, or women with families, is now very much diminished by the fact of their non-residence on the plantations: much of the time of those who consent to labour on estates is taken up by the care of their children, and the carriage of the breakfast of their husbands or 'keepers' to the plantations where they work. Under the former system, the labourers being resident, the infants were collected and placed under the care of a nurse, whilst the mothers laboured in the fields, but which is not now practicable to any extent, owing to their non-residence; and, in many instances, the mothers do not work on the estates for several months after the birth of their children.

"6. The cholera in 1854 sadly ravaged our labouring population: the deaths were estimated at 4000 out of a population, in 1853, of 34,077.

"7. A considerable number, who were formerly slaves, have become freeholders and independent settlers, and will not work for wages. They grow canes, cocoa, and provisions, and manufacture their canes into sugar, in some instances on their own properties, but generally on some neighbouring plantation.

"8. From 5000 to 6000 immigrants, to be imported over a spread of five years, could be advantageously employed, without detriment to our present labouring population, and with manifest benefit to themselves and to all classes of this community.'

"Secondly:

"Were the labourers more generally resident on plantations, and their labour in consequence made available for nine hours in the day, their present wages would be inadequate, and might be increased without injury to the estate. They seldom perform more than one task (when they consent to be tasked), because of their desire to return to their grounds, or to the cultivation of their own canes, &c. An active labourer will perform his or her task in about five hours, for which from tenpence to one shilling is paid. Their wages are generally punctually and regularly paid.

"3, 4, and 5. The number of immigrants introduced into this colony since emancipation is as follows:

"1101 Africans captured by H. M. Ship *Vestal* in 1836 and 1837.

"1043 Liberated Africans from Sierra Leone in 1850.

"164 Maltese imported, in 1839, by Messrs. Hankeys and Sharpe.

"431 Portuguese from Madeira in 1846 and 1847.

"283 Coolies in 1857.

"None of the Africans have returned to Africa, nor the coolies to India. Of the 431 Portuguese, 400 were in the colony in 1851, since which time several have left the colony for Trinidad and elsewhere, and the remainder are principally travelling hucksters and shopkeepers, very few being now located on plantations.

"Of the 164 Maltese, only 26 remained in 1851: many of the others, after having amassed a considerable amount of money, chartered a vessel about the year 1843, and left this for the United States. One of them is now an extensive and wealthy retail shopkeeper; and another, from Demerara, is the proprietor of a valuable sugar plantation, and of extensive premises in the capital town.

"The Africans were generally indented to proprietors of sugar plantations: the majority continue as labourers on the plantations, and many are freeholders and renters of small lots of land. Of those (principally females) indented to parties resident in the towns, the majority are now industriously employed as hucksters, and, from their honesty and correct dealing, enjoy the unlimited confidence of the merchants generally.

"The absence of any registration of deaths prevents an accurate account being given of the mortality among the immigrants: in respect to the Africans, with the exception of the deaths by cholera, the mortality has not been greater than among the Creoles.

"6. The wages of the native *adults* are—

"The *residents* four shillings per week of five days, with house and as much land for garden as they can cultivate in their own time. Medical attendance is pretty generally allowed where practicable; but for some time past there has been a great paucity of medical men in the island. A Bill has lately passed the Legislature, making pecuniary provision for affording medical aid to indigent persons and lying-in women, which it is hoped will increase the number of medical men. For *youths* from nine to fourteen years from two shillings to three shillings per week of five days. For *Coolies* tenpence per day is given, with house and medical attendance: land may also be had by them *free*, for the cultivation of provisions; but as yet, I believe, they labour generally for the six days, and live on purchased rice, codfish, &c. Natives and Coolies are paid for *extra* labour.

"7. The average cost of immigrants, inclusive of passage money to this colony, has been for

"Portuguese, £5 . 10*s*. each.

"Coolies . . 12 . 0*s*. ,,

"8. The immigrants have been almost invariably indented to sugar plantations.

"9. The number of Coolies yet introduced has been so few as not to affect the labouring population of the colony. The Africans introduced since emancipation are so amalgamated with the natives, and so enlightened, as not to be distinguished in general from them, save by those marks on their faces so common to their race.

"They are remarkable for their hardihood, industry, and desire to possess property. They are fond of independence; and, because of this fact, do not remain located on estates longer than they can procure a suitable spot of land for rent or purchase. The Coolies, although not generally equal in power to the African, would nevertheless be preferred at this time by some planters, because of their love of money, and of their residence and continuous labour on the estates.

"The natives, or Africans, resort to the tillage of their grounds from choice, and not necessity; and were the population only reasonably increased, the sale of provisions, &c., from the fertility of our mountain lands, would afford ample remuneration.

"As already stated, the number of Coolies yet introduced has been inconsiderable: their small number and present dependency render them innocuous, but this, I fear, would not be the case if their number were greatly increased. The African, could he be honestly and legitimately obtained, would, in every respect, be the best immigrant to this colony: he at once fraternizes with, adopts the religion and practices of the natives, and proves, in many instances, exemplary, rather than detrimental to the morals of the native population.

"I regret to state, that the lack of restraint, and the boasted independence of the youth of our black population, are likely to prove destructive to their morals, and injurious to their every interest.

"The system of labouring at a distance from, and not under the supervision of, their parents is very unfortunate, and corruptive of their morals. They are not likely, in future, to labour for themselves, or for the estates, in any profitable degree, unless constrained so to do by force of circumstances. The lads are roving, pert, and less industrious than their parents. Much care is indeed required for the control and future benefit of our youthful population.

"The subject of immigration has received the careful attention of our liberal and truly worthy Governor-in-Chief, Mr. Hincks, who is zealously regardful of the claims of our native population; and should immigration to any extent be determined upon in behalf of these islands, the immigrants awarded to those under his government will have due protection. I would, however, suggest that the British Government, or the colonies, be required to provide for the payment of a suitable number of magistrates for determining all cases between master and servant:

this would be satisfactory, and would induce confidence in their decisions.

TOBAGO.

The following observations are from a gentleman, who is a native West Indian, and has a thorough knowledge of the subject on which he addresses us. The replies to queries are from another hand, but came in his reply.

"Tobago, 20th March, 1858.

"The population of this island is now about 15,000; and although its staple production (sugar) is considerably less than it was previous to the emancipation of the slaves, yet it cannot but be gratifying to the friends of the negro race to know that a large proportion of the sugar crop is now grown by persons who had been slaves, on their own account, either as *renters* or *owners* of estates, patches of land, or under the Metairie system.

"Tobago exported, in 1828, 8858 hhds. of sugar and 5474 puncheons of rum: at that time the slaves were unquestionably overworked, and the population continued to diminish. From that year the exports gradually fell off, until they came down, in 1851, to 2544 hhds of sugar and 1389 puncheons of rum. Since 1841 there has been a steady increase, until last year (1857), when a severe drought caused an exception.

"In 1856 the crop was larger than any other produced since 1840, having reached nearly 5000 hhds. exported; and this year it is expected that it will be about the same.

"With the present limited population it is not probable that the cultivation will be much extended; but considering that the population has been increased by only 300 immigrants, I am of opinion that it speaks favourably for the labourers generally that the crop is now nearly double what it was sixteen years ago.

"None but tradesmen get more than 8*d.* per day.

"About one-sixth of the whole crop is produced under the Metairie system, and it is not to be wondered at that the labourers prefer working on their own account, that is to say, for a share in the production of their labour, rather than for wages of 8*d.* per day."

REPLIES TO QUERIES.

1. "This question requires three distinct answers:

(1.) "*Want of labour.*

"There is a great want of labour in this colony. Some sugar estates, favourably situated, *i. e.* having the command of all the labour in their immediate vicinity, complain of this *less* than others.

"(2.) *Extent.*

"The want of labour manifests itself everywhere in this colony by the absence of any thing like competition for employment and progress in the arts of civilization. The state of our public roads, the general want of comfort in and about our dwellings, the rude cultivation upon estates, the difficulty of obtaining servants of any kind, and of making any public or private or estates' improvements, are all evidences of the extent to which labour is required. Many new branches of industry suggest themselves for the development of the many natural resources of this island, but the impossibility of obtaining labour would be an insuperable obstacle to the most energetic capitalist.

"(3.) *General cause.*

"Paucity of population. Disproportion between quantity of land and number of labourers *for hire.* Facilities for cultivating provision grounds; facilities for squatting; facilities for renting and purchasing land. Diversion of the negro labourers from regular estates' labour by the facilities open to them as above, and under the Metairie or half-and-half system, by employing their labour for their own benefit. In this manner many labourers have become employers of labour. Wants of the negro few, and easily satisfied; and they can be satisfied without labouring *for hire*, which produces a general disinclination to labour *for hire.*

"2. Yes. For the day's work that can be got out of them *for hire* they receive a fair remuneration. If employed in task-work, they will often finish their work before two o'clock in the day; but if otherwise, the same quantity of work, or less, would occupy the whole day.

"Wages punctually and regularly paid.

"3. Only about 300 liberated Africans introduced per ship 'Clarendon' in 1851.

"4. None.

"5. At a rough guess, perhaps thirty or forty. The rest are here.

"6. The same as the native population, 8*d.* to 10*d.* per day for an able-bodied labourer, and sometimes 1*s.* per day.

"7. Cannot say, not having any data.

"8. Two-thirds of the immigrants are supposed to be still working on estates; the others are squatting, or rent land for provision-grounds, and support themselves without continued labour for hire.

"9. The number of immigrants has been too small to be appreciable (only about 300).

"The introduction of savage Africans has naturally a prejudicial effect upon the native population. They bring with them their jumbu dances, Obeah, and other superstitions; the effect of which it must take many years to eradicate."

BRITISH GUIANA.

"Demerara, 24th February, 1858.

"The people connected with the stations under my charge are not to any great extent employed on sugar estates, being for the most part farmers, cultivating provisions and coffee on lands which they have leased. Some of them occasionally go to work for a few weeks on the plantations in the neighbourhood, or on the west coast; but little can be learned from them on the *Labour Question*. In fact, when one has no opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with the work done, and to be done, as well as with wages paid on estates, it is very difficult to obtain any information to be confidently relied upon. The manager and the labourer look at the matter from different points of view, and the information received from the one will probably appear very different from that received from the other. Yet both may speak the truth, though not the whole truth, on the subject to which they relate.

"I think any one, free from personal bias to this or that view of the labour question, looking on the greatly extended cultivation, compared with what it was a few years ago, must conclude that labour is procurable in the colony; and, on the other hand, the appearance of the labouring people, Creoles and others, and the money which they are known to expend in different ways, cannot but lead one to believe that they do work, and receive wages. So far as this colony is concerned, there is no sign of ruin at the present time. Every one knows that the crop of 1857 is the largest ever made in the colony. But while there is so much room to extend the cultivation, there will still be a demand for more labourers. I need not, however, speculate on the subject; I will now look at your questions, though I am sure I have but few, if any, *facts* to supply you with.

"1. 'Is there any real want of labour in your colony? and if so, to what extent, and to what general causes is it to be ascribed?'—I now see large tracts of land under sugar cultivation, which were formerly uncultivated; and I have heard planters say that the estates under their charge never had so much land under cultivation in the time of Slavery as they have at the present time. But, then, they say the present extent of cultivation cannot be maintained without more labour. 'We want,' they add, 'a *continuous stream* of immigration, in order to keep plantations in their present state of cultivation.' One tells you he cannot get labour; another, that he has no difficulty in procuring all he wants. The labourer can purchase a lot of land on which to establish a home for his family; and then, though not entirely withdrawn from estates' work, he will perhaps be less regular than he used to be, unless he happen to hold some responsible position, as foreman, &c., on the estate. Hence I apprehend there will be no limit to the alleged want of labour, while so much land remains to be possessed.

"'2. Are the native labourers fairly remunerated for their labour on the estates, and are their wages punctually and regularly paid?'—I have every reason to believe that on the estates good wages are earned. If inquiry be made of either manager or labourer on this point, and he knows such inquiry is made with a view to the Labour Question, the information received will be altogether one-sided. But there can be no question, I think, that the native labourer gets a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. I *hear* the planters speaking of the labourers being able to earn four or five guilders, or two dollars a day (a guilder is 1*s.* 4*d.*), as easily as possible. It is *possible* that occasionally, at some kinds of work, such very high wages may be earned. One intelligent man told me, a few days ago, that he, being a good shovel-man, left his trade (a carpenter) some years since, for field work; and that on one occasion he earned eleven guilders in a day and a half: five dollars a week he commonly earned. 'But not *now*,' he said: 'I find my two guilders a day, as carpenter, better than field work; and it is not so hard.' Another man, a member of our church, tells me that he and his fellow-labourers earn seven and a half bitts each a day, *i. e.*, 2*s.* 6*d.* Females, whom I have conversed with on the same subject, say that for a certain task they get three and a half and four bitts (a bitt is 4*d.*), and they can finish by about noon when they begin by 7 30 A.M. If the work be *good*, they say they can finish two tasks. I have conversed with several, male and female, and, from what they say as to their present remuneration, I believe there is no cause for complaint in regard to the rate of wages, or the payment of them.

"'3. What number of immigrants has been introduced since emancipation, and where did they come from principally?'—In the beginning of this month, an official statement, published in the *Gazette*, gave the following account of immigrants introduced to the colony from 1835 to 1857 inclusive:

"From West-India Islands . . .	12,928
,, Madeira	24,457
,, East Indies	25,348
,, Azores	164
,, Africa	11,046
,, England	21
,, China	647
,, Cape de Verdes	766
,, Malta	208
,, United States	70
	75,655

"I cannot supply answers to questions 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th. In regard to the 8th, viz. 'What proportion of the immigrants have worked on the estates, and how have the rest been employed?

I can give no certain information. The most of the Coolies have, I believe, continued to work on estates. Some have betaken themselves to huxtering and shopkeeping, but not many. The *Ram Ral*, I see, from the public papers, has just 'committed an act of insolvency,' and has of course attained to the honour of being *a bankrupt*. Of Portuguese, I believe not nearly one half of those now in the colony work on estates. They are to be met with throughout the whole colony, engaged in all sorts of employments, but chiefly as dealers in the provision, dry goods, and spirit trade. Up our rivers, too, they are extensively engaged in wood-cutting. It is astonishing to see how some of these people have pushed on, persevered, and succeeded.

"*Chinese* are all, I believe, working on estates. They seem to be earning plenty of money too, and taking the use of it. I have frequently seen them going to town, very well dressed; and recently, since the term for which they were originally bound expired, I see they are in the habit of hiring carriages, to drive home from the city. No unusual thing to meet four Chinamen, with their purchases, driving, or rather being driven, down the west coast from town, in a carriage for which they have had to pay five dollars.

"*Coolies* continue to dress after their own fashion, and, I suppose, save their money, for lots of them are to be seen about the Savings' Bank on the days it is open for business.

"*Africans* labour on estates till they acquire as much as will purchase a piece of land; and then they generally become, in relation to the estates, the same as the Creole population. In fact, the African *now* appears to have a similar desire for a piece of land, and a house of his own, to that which the Creole labourers manifested some sixteen or eighteen years ago.

"9. 'Has the introduction of immigrants reduced the rates of wages, &c.?' (to the Creole labourer.)—This 9th question would require more time than I can at present afford to answer fully. I would not take upon me to say how the introduction of immigrants may have affected the *rate of wages*; but, on the whole, I do not think the *material interests* of the Creole labourer, have been injuriously affected thereby. I believe there is still some work on estates, such as heavy shovel work, entirely done by Creoles; and for that, of course, they are well remunerated. Few Creoles now reside upon estates: they all, or nearly all, reside in villages and settlements, where they have houses of their own; and they generally seem to prefer working on farms, (leased lands), and in other employments, to which they can go and come when they like, to labouring on estates, where they must work every day, or else perhaps lose their wages for the week or the month. But it is to be regretted that, in too many cases, *their own lands* are by no means cultivated as they ought to be. They know nothing of manuring here, and when the *plantain* gives out and fails the land is abandoned. In fact, some strangely go to hire farms themselves, while their own land is *rented to Africans*, or else lying waste, and overgrown with weeds and wild bush.

"I am fully persuaded that the morals of the Creole population have been seriously injured by contact with immigrants, and by their vile customs and vicious habits. Why, so degraded have some of the Creole young men shewn themselves to be, that for hire they become the bearers of the coolies' portable pagodas, on some of their high days, when they perambulate the highways in tumultous procession.

Georgetown, Demerara, February 27, 1858.

* * * *

"But leaving these, I will endeavour to address myself to your queries:

"1. 'Is there any real want of labour in your colony; and if so, to what extent, and to what general causes is it to be ascribed?'—In a province like this, with hundreds of miles and millions of acres scarcely traversed except by the wild Indians of our interior, almost a *terra incognita*, and wholly so except a few who have, as travellers, penetrated beyond the cultivated borders of this vast country and continent, a simple 'yes' or 'no' would be no definite answer to this query. If you restrict the inquiry to the portion of the country already under cultivation, as requiring additional labour to keep it up, or even in some degree to extend it, my own positive conviction would answer 'No.' If the inquiry relates to the capability of the province, and what would be the case with any considerable supply of labour beyond that already at command, even though that supply were doubled, tripled, or quadrupled, to almost any extent, the answer would still be like the horseleach's cry of 'Give, give,' 'Yes, yes.' But your inquiry, I presume, restricts itself to the former; only in a limited degree to the latter. In the former view, I answer 'No.' And if you ask my reasons, they are these. Excepting at certain seasons of the year, I am assured that it not unfrequently occurs that the labourers who are located in villages, after travelling many miles in search of employment, are unsuccessful, and have to return to their localities with nothing to do; until they sally forth again, and that during the dry season. This is the case to a fearful extent, insomuch that weeks will sometimes transpire with scarcely any employment to a considerable portion of the native Creole population. And two reasons—nay, three—are especially assigned for this state of things: the first, that as immigrant labour is extensively employed, the immigrants, being under indenture to the estates, must be provided

for, and taken care of, at any rate. Secondly, the managers being restricted to a certain weekly or monthly outlay, beyond which he cannot go, he has no money to pay the Creole labourers, until the next income, whatever be the capacity or want of the estate. This of course will apply only where means are limited, either by want of capital, or for prudential considerations of outlay. And, thirdly, during the dry season, rarely can the estates do more than find employment for immigrant labour, nor that if the season be prolonged, as is not unfrequently the case. Now, I have the authority of Mr. Van der Gon Netscher, in the Court of Policy, or Combined Court, for saying that, 'A strong Creole will do as much work in one day as a coolie could do in two, three, or six.' Though this statement partakes of exaggeration, it is sufficient to shew you the justice of my next remark, as affecting the supply of labour—that it is only when the estates cannot do without the labour of the native Creole that they employ it, namely, in hard laborious work, such as shovel-ploughing and heavy shovel work, for which the slender make of the Coolie immigrant renders him unfit ordinarily. Coolie immigrants, ordinarily, and Creole women are at about a *par* for value and strength to labour. Coolie women are not numerous. For present cultivation, therefore, and, to a limited degree, its extension, *real* want of labour cannot, I think, be justly given as a reason for depopulating a continent to get it. It requires well to husband what we have. Yet it cannot be denied—we have abundant room for immigration and immigrants; but not, of course, after the ruinous fashion on which it has hitherto been conducted. The single fact, that we have an area of seventy thousand square miles in this province, much of which is rich in mineral wealth, in gold, in silver, in platinum, in iron, in precious stones, and perhaps nearly every mineral product of the earth; that, with 60,000 acres of land in actual cultivation, there is but one hundredth part of available land occupied; that our alluvial soils extend inland to a distance of thirty miles from the sea-coast; that the sea-coast, thus rich in soil, extends to a sea facade of 250 mile in extent; and that in these lands some 60,000,000 acres might be brought into cultivation;—ages must elapse ere it could be said, without some to assert the contrary, that there is no want, if by that be meant no room for labour.

"2. 'Are the native labourers fairly remunerated for their labour on the estates; and are their wages punctually and regularly paid?'—This question, confined to natives, can be answered—excepting in comparatively rare instances—*affirmatively, in as far as my information extends to punctuality in payment.* I do not think the free negro would return to any estate where he was not paid. *But as relates to a fair remuneration* for each kind of estates' labour, *I am perplexed in my inquiries!* It is in every aspect a vexed question, and every research renders it more and more unsatisfactory to my mind. One will affirm that a labourer can earn a dollar a day with all ease; another will roundly assert double that sum; another, with a nearer approach to accuracy, will maintain six bitts, four bitts, three bitts, and, in some cases of difficult weeding, two bitts (a bitt is 4*d.* value). With such a wide margin, it is next to impossible to arrive at the exact truth, or even to determine a fair average. When, however, circumstances, mode of operation, and kinds of labour are considered, it is possible, to a considerable extent, to solve some of the difficulties affecting the question, although it is by no means easy, if indeed practicable, to render the question clear to any unacquainted with localities, distances, and the peculiarities of tropical labour in sugar plantations. I will, however, state one or two facts, to enable you to judge for yourself. In cases of a dollar, and, as sometimes asserted, two dollars (rare enough) in a day, it can only occur in an occasional sense, that is, in shovel-ploughing, or French work, in the companies of strolling labourers that go by the name of task-gangs. These always consist of able-bodied, muscular negroes, who go to a plantation and take a job at such an estimated price; and often they can determine their own prices, when the planter has no labourers on the estate of sufficient strength in numbers. These will work, say three days in the week, like horses under excitement, except that it is wages instead of the lash; and they will expend strength and labour beyond the possibility of continuous daily endurance. The other three days, or two days, as the case may be, is taken up in travel, or is required for rest. But I do not believe it is possible for the physical powers of even a negro to go beyond such an amount of physical effort without shortening life, or enfeebling it. The ordinary field work is more within the bounds of inquiry; though even this is perplexing. An industrial day's work in the field is ordinarily set down at one guilder, that is, four bitts, each of 4*d.* value. A woman's task is, I believe, usually at three bitts per diem.

"But what is a day's work? In a discussion on this question in the Combined Court, in 1856, the Hon. Mr. Netscher, a planter, observed, 'To put down a certain amount of work per man, and say to him, That work must be done in a day, would be impossible. They did not know at the end of the day what any one man had done; but they knew at the end of the week.'* This brings to my mind an answer a labourer gave me, on my inquiring how it came to pass that the people did not work, or worked so few tasks a week, and lost so much time that they

* See *Royal Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1856.

were charged with being idle. 'Massa,' was the reply, 'no so; me task too much, he sometimes so too heavy; me no able to do more, Massa; so me finish um at end of the week.'—'How is that?' 'Massa, me too tire to work Monday, and so me do little job for meself; Tuesday me take task, too much, so me do as much as me able, and leave the rest; Wednesday me take task again, and do the same; Thursday me do the same; so me make three tasks; so sometimes me get four tasks,and work all Saturday to finish um.' —'But is it always so?' 'No, Massa; sometimes the ground so heavy, and the grass heavy, sometimes not so heavy; if too heavy, only get through three task.'—'But do you never get through two tasks in one day?' ''Spose, Massa, the work no so heavy, no so heavy grass, no so heavy ground, me try, begin soon, try hard, and do um; but then, Massa, me get too-oo tired, and 'bliged to rest longer time, Massa. Massa, me no lazy.' This story is more instructive, to my mind, on the probable average of the wages, question, than the assertions of many; and illustrates how it is that not till the end of the week can an industrial day's work, as it is called, be estimated. But what is measured out as a day's work is very differently told. And here, again, a new and deeply perplexing question arises, I have not sufficient data to solve. From the discussion in the Legislative Court above referred to, it was stated that 'Five days' industrial tasks are required of every immigrant;' which, if enforced, will cut off many lives, as indeed may well be conceived, if we may judge from the Hon Mr. Porter's incidental observation at that Court.* He said, 'Everybody wanted the immigrants to labour every day; *but they, being weakly people, did not like to work every day for a guilder*; but they would rather work to the value of one bitt (4*d*), or two bitts (8*d*.).' *Attorney-General:* 'Then the Honourable Member wished to exact from them more work in the day than their strength would admit of.' *Mr. Porter*: 'He did not wish to exact that.' Thus, then, we learn that one guilder (four bitts of 4*d*. each), is the recognised value of one day's work of *industrial labour*; that immigrant labourers find it too much for their strength; that they rather work to their strength, by taking even two bitts (8*d*.), or even one bitt (4*d*.), on account of their incapacity to exceed that without detriment to health or comfort, and thus risk the prolongation of their term of service; at least, which is the same, they risk being refused a ticket to authorise their claim to the promised back passage. The witness is the planter's own, told in courtly conversation.

"Now, Sir, on the labour question, I think the above will enable you to form some idea about 'fair remuneration' on the one hand, and on the other help you to a key by which to interpret the terms—tropical terms—of *idleness*, *squatting*, *indolence*, and *cognate words to these*, when applied to the negro's asserted lazy unwillingness to labour.

"3. 'What number of immigrants has been introduced in your colony since emancipation? and where did they come from principally?'—Some time in the last month there appeared in the *Royal Gazette* a tabular statement, signed by the Acting Immigration Agent-General, shewing the gross numbers who have arrived in the colony for the twenty-two years from the first January 1835 to 31 Dec. 1857. I append a copy of it.

From Immigration Table, 1st January 1835 to 31st December 1857.

(*From the Royal Gazette, 4th January* 1858.)

From W. India Islands,	1835, 157. 1836, 1427. 1837, 2150. 1838, 1266. 1839, 192. 1840, 2900. 1841, 2745. 1842, 206. 1843, 108. 1844, 255. 1845, 722. 1846, 428	12,928
Madeira	1835, 429. 1841, 4279. 1842, 423. 1843, 45. 1844, 140. 1845, 668. 1846, 5975. 1847, 3761. 1848, 300. 1849, 86. 1850, 1040. 1851, 1109. 1852, 1009. 1853, 2539. 1854, 1658. 1855, 1055. 1856, 180. 1857, 342	24,457
East Indies	1838, 406. 1845, 816. 1846, 4019. 1847, 3461. 1848, 3545. 1851, 517. 1852, 2805. 1853, 2021. 1854, 1562. 1855, 2342. 1856, 1258. 1857, 2596	25,388
Azores, in 1851		164
Africa	1838, 21. 1841, 1120. 1842, 1829. 1843, 325. 1844, 523. 1845, 1425. 1846, 1097. 1847, 565. 1848, 1697. 1849, 111. 1850, 1210. 1851, 453. 1852, 268. 1853, 279. 1856, 65	11,046
England, in 1851		21
China, in 1853		647
Cape de Verde, 1856		766
Malta, in 1839		208
United States, in 1840		70
	Grand Total, 1835 to 1847 ...	75,655

* See Report in *Royal Gazette*, September 2, 1856.

"From this statement it appears that the total number of immigrants of all classes who have been introduced during the period mentioned is 75,655. We are not told how many of these immigrants are at the present day available for agricultural purposes in the colony; although doubtless the means of affording that information must have been at hand, and it was necessary, if the return was intended for any useful purpose, that it should have been made truthfully complete. In the absence of such information, the return, if not wholly valueless, is certainly *very deceptive. A large deduction must be made for the total number* of Coolies returned to their own country. Many of the West-India islanders also (Barbadeians principally) have likewise done the same; but we admit that it is not easy to estimate the number, as the Immigration Agent-General does not, at the present day, keep a record relating to such immigrants, and moreover the constant irregular arrivals may be taken as a balance to the departures. *But not so in regard to the Coolies.* The number of those remaining can be told almost to a man, supposing the records of the Estates Hospital to have been properly kept. We will not venture to say how many of them have died here; but those who remember the stand which Government was obliged to make in 1848 and 1849 for the establishment of proper Estates Hospitals will agree with us that *the deaths* must have been very considerable. The numbers who have left can be told at a moment by the same officer who sent out the imperfect return. We should say at least 10,000 must be deducted for those who have died and those who have returned to India, leaving about 15,000 Coolies in the colony. With regard to the Portuguese, deducting at a very moderate calculation one-tenth of the entire number for the fearful mortality that prevailed among them in the years from 1835 to 1849, and for subsequent deaths, we may estimate the number now in the country at about 20,000. But how many of these are engaged in agricultural work? Not half of them. Every street in town is studded with their shops; every village has five or six; there is hardly an estate in the colony which has not one or more on its front lands, and almost every shop has its staff of at least two servants. Then others have taken to the bush, like the Coolies and Africans, and cut wood, burn charcoal, and rear provisions. Taking, however, the statement of the Immigration Agent-General for what it is worth, 75,000 immigrants would give 250 hands for each estate, a very strong gang for the majority of estates. But there really are not so many estates now in cultivation: we have heard it stated there are only 160 sugar estates in sugar cultivation Say there are 200: there will be an average of 370 immigrants for each sugar plantation, besides a large proportion of Creole peasantry, who, even the bitterest of their abusers admit, can be got sometimes to work on the sugar plantations. We know that gangs of Creole labourers may commonly be seen walking from estate to estate in search of work, which cannot be got, owing to the necessity of keeping immigrant labourers employed, and the want of means of employing others. *It is not labour that is so much wanted in the colony, as capital to pay for that labour.* Those proprietors who have capital at command contrive to make large crops, and to acquire fortunes in spite of the complaints that are made regarding scarcity of labour. They are every day taking in waste lands and cultivating them at profit, while their poorer neighbours abandon their fields, and attribute the necessity to want of labourers. There are many of these latter who would be just as badly off if they had double the number of labourers at command. *They have not the means of paying the wages of those they have.* It is not very long since the holders of two or three extensive properties failed, and nearly ruined an industrious trader, by whom they had been supplied weekly with large sums of money to pay their labourers' wages. These people had gangs of immigrants indentured to their estates; and they had to borrow the money to pay the people's wages. Yet their voices might have been heard amongst the loudest *crying out for more labour.*'

"The above is very important and valuable, as testimony that cannot be controverted, nor truthfully denied.

"4. 'What number has returned to China, India, and Africa?'

"No returns have as yet appeared, nor have I the means of ascertaining; but *I suppose the Blue Books would tell.* To China I do not remember to have heard that any have returned; of the other two—India and Africa—I can say nothing.

"5. 'What number is estimated to have died?

"Deaths have been kept a profound secret for a long period; at least I have no recollection of any having been published for many years past. We used formerly to have periodical returns of the numbers who died in the hospitals; but I suppose the observations and inquiries elicited thereby have rendered it more convenient to withhold them of late years. If I may form my estimate from the numbers who died in former years, it is to be feared that a very considerable proportion are cut off by death. Many die on their passage from India, many die in our hospitals, some, if not many, during the penalties they undergo for deficient labour.

"The number of deaths, as reported on those who actually reached Guiana in 1857, averaged about 5 per cent. in the year; that is, there actually reached Guiana, in 1857, from

Calcutta 361, by the *Wellesley*.
,, 335, by the *Bucephalus*.
,, 230, by the *Sir Robert Sepping*.
,, 226, by the *Royal Emperor*.
,, 265, by the *Merchantman*.
,, 277, by the *Birmah*.
Madras 522, by the *Blue Jacket*.
,, 380, by the *Samboul*.

Total, 2596 arrivals.

Of whom 135 died in the hospital within the same period, and 4 in the river (*i. e.* before landing), leaving 2457 coolie immigrants alive; but the return says nothing of those who died on their passage out, which were considerable, and should be asked for, or searched for.

"6. 'What wages have they been in the habit of receiving?'

"Our unacquaintedness with their language limits the possibility of ascertaining from the immigrants themselves. We are therefore dependent mostly on the occasional conversations of the planter-legislators. The Honourable Mr. Porter, in his place in the Court of Policy, stated, 'A great many of the women, and more of the men, only earned 3 bitts (*i. e.* 1*s.*) a day, but they worked every day in the year.' He also stated that, on industrial days, labour was a one-guilder task (4 bitts, each 4*d.*); whilst, for want of strength equal to it, some preferred one bitt's worth, or one-fourth of the task. Now, the Ordinance No. 7, 1854, requires the same to be performed five days every week (as an industrial service) that would be assigned to a Creole labourer's daily task: and if, under conviction before a magistrate, five such days' industrious service be not actually performed, the deficiency authorises the refusal of a ticket, and right of back-passage, until such service is fully accomplished. It strikes me, therefore, in the absence of positive returns, the above may afford sufficient data by which to judge of this wages question, in as far as relates to the immigrants.

"6. 'What is the average cost of an immigrant, inclusive of his passage to the colony, and back to his country?'

"To determine this question, very much statistical information would be requisite, since, in addition to the cost per head for bringing them, and the cost for those who do actually return, and the 50 doll. bounty to those who renew their indenture, all of which can be accurately given from the Blue Books, or the Colonial Returns, must be added the tremendous outlay for agencies, hospitals, and incidentals, which would again demand rather extensive statistics of another class.

"The best statement which I can furnish, is that presented at the Finance Meeting of the Combined Court, as given in the *Royal Gazette* of last year.

"*Dr.* *Immigration Fund Account.*

	Dol. Cents.
Received, during the year, from applicants upon their entering into contracts with immigrants, and in part of the duty payable upon contracts entered into previously . .	12,588 10
Received as part of the planters' share of bounty for immigrants . . .	31,927 64
Received from coolies for unexpired term of their industrial residence (less the sum returned to coolies, 96, taken in error)	2118 00
Received other enumerated sums .	85 32
Received for provision for back-passage of African emigrants, falling due 1856	1092 00
Received sum drawn on Land and Emigration Commissioners in London	7755 96
Received for sum from funds in hand of Commissioners	136 08
Total	55,703 10

"*Cr.* *Immigration.*

For difference of passage-money of immigrants from India this year, being in excess of the amount for which the employers to whom they were allotted are liable, per *Canning*, *Empress Eugene*, *Thames*, *Hamlin*, and *Devonshire*: the amount paid out being	75,896 05
And the *amount* PAYABLE *by employers*	60,350 00
Difference paid by the colony being,	15,546 05
For passage-money for Portuguese,	21,315 00
GRATUITIES to surgeons and officers (coolie transports)	3757 58
Expenses of superintendence . . .	10,651 0
Expenditure in India, &c. . . .	7563 5
Remitted Lords of Treasury (coolie immigration)	10,001 62
Back-passage paid to certain Kroomen, in consideration of relinquishing their claims	2086 86
	70,921 59

Interest.

Amount remitted to Commissioners, to pay twelve months' interest on 70,000*l.* bonds	13,440 00
Idem twelve months' interest on 31,500*l.* at 5 per cent.	7560 00
Remitted to Commissioners, to pay Bank of England, at 4 per cent. on 250,000*l.* bonds	48,000 00
Bank commission for paying the same,	240 00
	140,161 59
Deduct the Dr, as above	55,703 10
Leaves a nett balance paid out of the taxation of the colony	84,458 49

"Of course this supposes the 'employers' will pay the sum of 60,350 dollars above deducted, which, until so paid, would give a grand total of 144,808 dollars 49 cents, irrespective of Justices, jails, hospitals, and all the other *et ceteras*."

Pretty well, this, for one year; but how to reckon up the cost of years I neither have the returns, nor the means to ascertain.

"8. 'What proportion of the immigrants have worked on the estates; and how have the rest been employed?'

"Of the 25,000 Madeiran and Portuguese immigrants, very few continue on the estates. Such as have not died, or returned to Madeira, are chiefly employed as shopkeepers and hucksters through the province; and some of them have acquired considerable property in trade, and have become merchants. But statistical returns alone would furnish the exact numbers.

"Of the 12,928 from the islands it would be more difficult to give figures of proportions, as they are negroes chiefly, and may be supposed to be generally occupied on the estates, such of them as have not died, or left the colony.

"Of the 11,046 from Africa, the same remarks may be made—being all negroes. But the African is much lauded for his docility and industry, occasionally in our colonial press, and at other times otherwise, as the whim takes.

"Of the 25,348 coolie immigrants, very few are seen anywhere else than on the estates, *i. e.* who have not died off, or returned to India. Returns ought to shew these.

"Of the 647 Chinese, all living, I presume, are on the estates. But since the whole number from the West Indies range between 1835 and 1857, the Madeirans between 1841 and 1857, the East Indians (with the exception of 406 in 1838) between 1845 and 1857, both inclusive, *it is not to be supposed that a very considerable number of the whole will be found living, or in the province.*

"9. 'What effect has their introduction had upon the labouring population of the colony? Has it reduced the rate of wages? Has it supplanted native labour to any great extent? Has it forced the labourers to seek occupation on their own grounds, in the cultivation of provisions for increased population? How has it affected the morals of the native population?'

"Here are five particular questions of the general question, regarding the effect of immigration on the labouring population of the colony. These will require separate replies:

(1) As to the general question: It is not to be disputed that the religious element which was diffused ere the immigration scheme came into operation has been the great conservative of our native population.

"Nor can it be disputed, I think, that a much lower tone of religious feeling and sentiment is observant through the masses than prevailed prior to the period of emancipation. The reasons for this are, in some respects, obvious to myself, as having already advanced in the thirtieth year of my residence here—obvious, I mean, irrespective of the introduction of the heathenism of India and the new importations of African superstition. But it is impossible to mingle with associations of evil, and wholly escape. These observations, however, apply mostly to Africa and the islands; from the former we have fresh importations of the heathenish superstitions of Africa, especially *Obeahism;* from the latter, the greater body who emigrate are usually of the lowest grades—the refuse of the islands. But we have also some valuable members of society as well—persons of intelligence.

(2) Has it reduced their wages?

"The planters, at the commencement of the immigration movement, were at no pains to conceal that this was a prime object. That they have succeeded to a considerable extent, and that but for immigrant labour, wages would be considerably higher than they are, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is also undeniable that the negro possesses as much of human nature, and is quite as disposed to exact what he can, as his European master. One of the sore causes of discontent in times past was just this wages question as connected with immigration—the wages of the people reduced by immigrant labour, introduced at the labourers' expense. The principle, however, that those who are benefited by their introduction ought to pay for them has been advocated, and to some extent acted on, under Mr. Wodehouse's Governorship.

(3) Has it supplanted native labour?

"Very considerably, no doubt of it. I remember well when native labourers were turned off estates *en masse*, to make room for immigrants. Employers made no secret of their desire and determination to obtain immigrant labour, if possible, to do without the native altogether. Their success has not been complete, and, if I may form my judgment from occasional conversations with some in the planting interest, never will be: not so much from want of will, as from the acknowledged value of native labour. For notwithstanding the outcry against the natives, it is felt and confessed, though reluctantly, that for the heavier parts of plantation labour, requiring muscular strength, the native is indispensable, right few of the immigrants being equal to it. I have sometimes heard this contested by two parties of opposite views in the planting interest; but it has required no deep powers of penetration to determine on which side the truth lay.

"My reply to Query 1, may enable you to judge of this further.

(4) Has it forced the native labourers to seek occupation on their own grounds, in the cultivation of provisions for increased population?

"It has very extensively. Bodies of native labourers were thus, at first, compelled to leave the plantations, and seek elsewhere for means of subsistence and of sustenance. It led, more than any thing else, the people to seek after, and settle upon, their own freeholds, and, whenever practicable, to labour apart from the estates; as also to live in cottages and in communities, independent of estate caprice, where it was still necessary to seek for labour upon them. Planter folly, in connexion with the introduction of the immigration scheme, contributed very largely to the results that followed.

"Villages and settlements have thus sprung up, inconvenient alike to the labourers and the estates, inasmuch as the labourer has often to travel many miles for employment—often in disappointment; and when successful, it is at a great expenditure of time and energy, especially in such a sultry climate as this, where there are no winters to brace the nerves, no frosts to invigorate the frame. So that, in a majority of cases, it ought not to excite wonder that the native does not work to produce a five days' task, but that he is able to labour in tropical fields, under a tropical sun, to the extent he does. I wish no severer punishment for the wholesale traducer of the negro labourer, than to be compelled, for *only one short month*, to undergo the same ordeal. Whilst, amongst negroes, as amongst others in every land, there are exceptionable characters and exceptionable conduct, I am confident, when I say that the wholesale charges against them that have found their way into newspapers are gross, very gross exaggerations, shamefully slanderous, and disgracefully untrue. Were not the people, as a whole, as quiet and docile and enduring as sometimes their very traducers acknowledge them to be, they would ere this have been alienated more extensively than they are, alike from employers and their estates, in the face of measures ill calculated to win them over. Some of those who were formerly slaves not only have proved their persevering industry by becoming possessed of estates, but raise to some extent the staple products of the colony. I am not aware that they are exporters of produce, but I believe some of them would soon become so under guidance and counsel; but they are very extensive producers of staple consumed in this province. My sugar—and our family consumption requires a barrel at a time—is supplied from the estate of a negro, whose very industry and method have been the sport of a newspaper editor here—I need hardly say with falsehood, for its base; but enough to shew with what feelings of envy, if not of hate, a negro's success is viewed by some of the superior race. I have now before me, as I write, a beautiful sample of arrow-root (6 lbs., in a tin), which another negro has sent me to send to England, if possible, to get export custom, as he is able to grow it to any extent. And I have been frequently applied to by them to ask if I could get them coffee and other products sold across the water: but it would require capital, of which I cannot boast; and time and attention, which I cannot give.

"The cultivation of provisions may be said to be almost, if not altogether, in the hand of the native Creole. Plantains and edibles, which were formerly supplied by the masters of estates, now are produced by them; and all farming operations have fallen into their hands. The entire community, not excepting those who traduce the people, are very largely indebted to these, who were once slaves. At one time, I knew many native labourers who would hasten to complete their tasks in the field on the estate, on purpose to be able to cultivate their own grounds simultaneously; and hope of reward inspired their energies, but they were discouraged by the course adopted towards them, and gave up.

5. 'How has it affected the morals of the native population?'

"Some of my former replies have anticipated this query. Difference of language and of country, as between the negro, the Coolie, and the Chinese, necessarily forms a barrier to that intimacy that would assuredly work evil in proportion to their proximity. The idolatrous processions, and their attendant revelries, attract many, but I have no certain means of judging to what extent the negroes' mind may have been affected by these. Of one thing they may be certain, that the naturally susperstitious mind and habits of the negroes, with the new importations which fresh supplies from the African tribe always bring, will not be likely to become less so by witnessing their orgies. But it is to be apprehended that the most fearful source of immorality will be found in the awful increase of *rumshops* which have marked the immigration era of Portuguese. These pests are found at every town and every corner, in every country-place where the remotest idea of custom presents. And the fearfulness of these influences may be supposed, when we consider that the *retail spirit licences* in the city of Georgetown and town of New Amsterdam alone gave to the revenue last year *forty-three thousand three hundred and* 40 *dollars*; and the *retail spirit licences* for the rural districts during the same period give a return of *sixty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-five dollars and a half*; or, together, the retail spirit licences alone, not the spirits, but the *licence to sell them*, gave to the revenue in the last annual estimate, the alarming sum of *one hundred and eight thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars* and 50 cents. Whilst the *rum duties* on the *rum sold* for consumption, between January 1 and Dec. 21, 1856, were on 185,665 galls., from Demerara and Europe; 40,502 galls. from Berbice; total, 226,167 galls. rum, at 90 cents., 203,550. dolls.

30 cents, *i.e.* two hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty dolls., or, together, a revenue of 311,784 dolls. and 80 cents, as an encouragement to vice and crime, to be dated from the encouragement given by our courts to Portuguese immigrants thus to set themselves up. And this irrespective of upwards of ninety thousand dollars duty on wine and other spirits. I believe truly, that were it not for the salutary influence of the gospel of Christ, the only really counteracting power against the phalanx of encouragement to crime, the whole country would soon become a scene of anarchy and of ill.

"I will close this communication with a few remarks on the *Cotton question*.

"Much has been written and spoken concerning the capacity of British Guiana for cotton cultivation. It was once a staple production of the country, that, and coffee, with some sugar estates. The cessation of that cultivation, the adversaries of the negroes and of liberty would have us believe, is attributable to emancipation and the want of labour. No impression could be more false; no representations, if made, more untrue, for it was *during the time of slavery*, when the planting interest had it all their own way—when importations into the colony after the abolition of the slave-trade had ceased in 1807 to 1823, during which period importations from other colonies were considerable — that cotton cultivation began rapidly to decline, and, long before the abolition of slavery, wholly ceased.

"The people therefore are altogether innocent of this imputation, be it expressed, implied, or understood.

"Wherefore, then, was the cultivation of the cotton-plant discontinued, insomuch that from twenty-one estates wholly given to that cultivation in 1823, not one now continues in operation? An historical sketch, now before me, written sixteen years ago, thus records the reason. '*The slaves*, notwithstanding considerable annual importations down even to the year 1823, *continued to decrease*. About this period the cotton cultivation began rapidly to decline. The Berbice and Demerara cotton planters were not able to compete with the cotton planters of the United States, who greatly undersold them. Some of the cotton properties were converted into sugar estates, very heavy investments by English houses being made for that purpose: others were converted into cattle farms."* Thus, then, *in the time of Slavery itself*, it was that the cotton estates were thrown out of cultivation, simply from incapacity to carry them on, by reason of being undersold, and by reason of the more profitable returns of sugar cultivation; that, too, when the slave was at the mercy of the master, when masters could express labour to the utmost limit of bone and muscle endurance, and none dared resist.

* "Local Guide," 1843.

Coffee cultivation, also, of which I do not know that a single estate is now cared for, if it exists, was far more extensively carried on than even cotton. In 1823 not fewer than seventy-eight coffee estates were under cultivation. These gradually diminished—not for want of labour—not through emancipation—not from the indolence of the people, for they had the stimulus of the slave-driver's lash—not from the squatting propensities so liberally attributed to all who happen not to be on the sugar estates; from neither, nor all of these causes, but purely through *the greater prospective wealth* of changing the coffee plantation for the sugar estate: this too, and mark it, notwithstanding that it was well known that in Slavery the average tenure of slave life was alarmingly in disfavour of the sugar over that of the coffee cultivation.

I well remember that time, when the value of a slave was calculated by the difference of profit according to his forced labour, the value of sugar being far more compensative for the loss of slave life by the drudge of sugar cultivation, than would be the cultivation of coffee and cotton, with its proportional prolongation, the cultivation of them being proverbially lighter than almost any other. I have, moreover, a distinct recollection of the period when the superior value of sugar was given as the reason for uprooting coffee trees in Berbice, and planting sugar-canes instead. Not farther back than 1832 nearly *six millions and a half pounds of coffee* were reported as raised, which fell to *four millions and a half* in 1833, fluctuating till 1841, when the produce sunk to *one and a quarter million*; since which, as an article of export, it has become extinct, although much is still raised by the people for private consumption. Had labour, therefore, been ever so abundant, the same or similar results would have been inevitable, so long as sugar was regarded as being more remunerative. But the change was accompanied with serious considerations in the event of a tide turning in favour of coffee over sugar; for, irrespective of the next to ruinous outlay for sugar plantation buildings, which would be useless in coffee or cotton cultivation, the coffee plant requires three to five year's growth ere it becomes productive; rather long to wait, especially as the changes in commerce might again, within that period, render nugatory, or worse, all this outlay and patience. And it is observable that the decrease of cultivation throughout the British West Indies, including British Guiana, was, to the 5th of January, 1852, *one hundred and twenty thousand pounds less than one million!*

To put down, therefore, the cessation of either cotton or coffee as an article of export to the abolition of Slavery, the indolence of the people, or the squatting propensities of the villagers, if not a wilful untruth, is at least a shameful mistake.

"Georgetown, Demerara, April 9, 1858.

"I beg simply to furnish you with the following answers, which will be found seriatim, as replies to your various questions, according to their numbers:

"1. There is no real want of labour in the colony, as to this part of it; and this remark, I think, may be justly applied to the other parts. There is a sufficiency of native labour on the land to be obtained if it was fully paid for.

"2. The native labourers are not fully remunerated for their labour. I have been creditably informed, if they were, there would be no occasion to import foreign labourers. The plan adopted by proprietors in general, and their agents, is to compel the native labourer to work for the smallest amount of wages; and hence the desire to swamp the colony with labourers from foreign countries. The wages which labourers agree to work for are paid regularly every week, when there are no bickerings between them and their employers; but, alas! this is very often the case.

"3. The number of immigrants supposed to have been introduced into this colony, from 1835 down to the end of last year, is about 76,000. The immigrants which have been brought here are principally from Madeira and the East Indies.

"4. With regard to this answer, I am not in a position to say what number of immigrants has returned to India, China, or Africa.

"5. I cannot obtain the necessary information which is needed to form this answer.

"6. The average amount of wages which the immigrants receive for labour is 16 cents per day, or 3*d.* sterling.

"7 and 8. I find it a difficult matter to obtain answers to the questions of these numbers, unless one could get access to the Registrar-General's Office, and this is not an easy thing. Inquiry to this effect, made at said office, would create immediate suspicion.

"9. The introduction of foreign labourers here has had the effect of reducing the rate of wages to some degree, inasmuch as the Coolies are brought down to a very low rate of remuneration, and the planters strive to induce the native labourers to work for the same, which they will not do. Often a body of labourers will apply to the manager of a property for work, and although there is much work to be done on said property, the answer which the applicants receive will be, that there is no work; because they will not submit to receive for a day's work what a Coolie will labour for; and frequently the business of an estate is retarded, and the property suffers, and the cry is raised among certain persons, to answer a purpose, namely, the colony is going to ruin, for the people will not work. Native labour has therefore been supplanted in some measure. When the native labourer cannot obtain work he is compelled to resort to his own grounds, or farm, on which he cultivates provisions, and these supply our markets in town continuously. The average rate of an effective labourer's wages per day is 48 cents, or 6 bitts, Demerara money, which amount of labour very, very few Coolies could perform in the same time. Trench-work, or performing task-work, a strong-bodied native man might work for six shillings a-day when called to it, but this is not often during the year, and trench-work especially is considered exceedingly laborious. I have every reason to believe that the morals of the native labourers have been affected by the introduction of foreign labourers, both Portuguese and Coolies, with respect to the profanation of the Sabbath, the practice of resorting to the liquor-shops on God's holy day, about which, I may venture to say, that no proprietor or magistrate seems to feel any concern; and sometimes one hears the sound of the idolatrous Coolie's drum on this sacred day. The Portuguese labourer is very lax with regard to his observance of the Sabbath.

* * * *

"In conclusion, I would just observe that a very common practice here with planters is, that when a body of labourers (native), have performed a whole week's work, on the day of payment fault will be found of the work which they have done, and they are told that they must either go over the work, and better what they have done, or else no money will be paid them. Very often this occasions business for the magistrate, which ends unfavourably to the labourers; and sometimes, after being tantalized by the manager for a week or ten days, they abandon the case altogether, and give up to the manager the whole of the week's work as lost. By these means great heart-burnings and dissatisfaction are promoted."

W. M. Watts, Crown Court, Temple Bar.

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ADDRESS

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

NOVEMBER 11, 1839.

BY R. R. GURLEY.

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TO THE

PRESIDENT AND MANAGERS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AND TO

THE FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES,

I Respectfully Dedicate this Address,

IN THE HOPE THAT THE CAUSE IN WHICH THEY ARE ENGAGED, WILL SOON, AS OF HIGHEST INTEREST TO TWO RACES OF MEN AND TWO CONTINENTS, BE SUSTAINED BY ALL THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNION.

R. R. GURLEY.

ADDRESS.

THOUGH deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me, by your invitation to occupy, for a brief time, this place on this occasion, I must be permitted to express regret at my inability to fulfil expectations which may reasonably have been cherished in view of the annual assemblage of the members and friends of this association; and, especially, that the gentleman* to whom this invitation was first extended, so esteemed for his virtues, and admired for his eloquence, found it necessary to decline the duty, which the speaker, relying upon your generous indulgence, will attempt, however inadequately, to perform.

But if the remark be just, that "in all exertions of duty something must be hazarded;" that, on occasions and questions involving great public interests and common dangers, the purity of the motive is held to atone for the indiscretion of the deed, and the weakest hand

* Rev. Dr. Bethune.

may well be stretched out to defend or sustain truth and right, apologies are unnecessary, perhaps impertinent, in presence of a subject which appals by its magnitude, and demands by its importance, the combined reason and benevolence of the Christian world.

No scheme of selfishness, of ordinary charity, of mere patriotism are we convened to promote. Your hearts respond to the appeals; daily almost are your hands extended for the relief of the suffering. The noblest ornaments of this city are her institutions and asylums, thrown wide open to the varied forms of human distress; in which want finds provision, infirmity support, sickness medicine and aid, the widow a home, the destitute aged repose and consolation, and the orphan a shelter; in which those shut up from communion with nature by one of the senses, are taught to converse with her through another, and the intellect shattered by misfortune, or deranged mysteriously by His hand who formed it, is guarded from the rude irritations of the world, and gently soothed by the ministrations and smiles of Christian love.

Greater far than any, than all these, is our object, encompassing within the wide range of its promised beneficence, the character and destinies of two races of men, and two quarters of the globe.

Nor here, can I hesitate, to congratulate the friends of African colonization in this city and throughout the country, on the occurrence of recent events and of recent

changes of opinion, in both America and England, favourable to the progress of their enterprise, and its final consummation, on a scale commensurate with the extent and inveteracy of the evils it was designed to remedy, and the vastness of good it was intended and expected to confer upon this nation and the African race.

The manifest impotency of direct and fierce attacks by societies exclusively northern in their origin and action, to produce the immediate, unconditional, and voluntary emancipation of slaves on the soil of the south; the confirmed faith of the humane and religious of that portion of the union in the patriotism, practicableness, and philanthropy of the scheme of this society; the rapidly rising prosperity and influence of the communities of Liberia; the application of steam to ship navigation, soon to unite in commercial relations and frequent intercourse, the civilized with remote and barbarous nations; the act of West Indian emancipation; and, above all, the increase, since that act, of the African slave trade, working conviction in the minds of the great leaders of that measure in England, that this traffic can be suppressed only by introducing into Africa herself civilization and Christianity, encouraging her industry, developing her exhaustless resources, and gathering, by humane arts, and new incentives to exertion, the rich and varied productions of her mines, her forests, and her fields, into the channels of legitimate commerce: all these must be regarded as elements about to meet

and coalesce in a mighty movement, under the all-directing Hand for the advancement of our cause, and the redemption of Africa.

It is a fact worthy of record, and one of pregnant import to those who discern only cruel injustice in the principles and policy of the American Colonization Society, that long before its origin these principles and policy were adopted and made practical by distinguished friends of immediate emancipation both in Old England and New. If the opponents of this society claim Dr. Fothergill, Granville Sharp, Dr. Hopkins, and Paul Cuffee as advocates of their doctrine, we point to the example of these individuals in defence of our practice; and especially to this example do we refer in evidence that there exist to the judgment of wise and good men valid reasons for the scheme of African colonization independent of any or all opinions on the subject of slavery. The illustrious names of Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharp are recorded among the chief founders of the colony of Sierra Leone; while to their enterprise the venerable Dr. Hopkins and Captain Paul Cuffee (one of the most sensible, philanthropic, and best educated coloured men ever born in New England) gave both their sanction and their aid. These early and true-hearted friends of the coloured race never deemed the spirit of colonization unworthy to dwell in their hearts in communion with the spirit of universal liberty—never dreamt that benevolence towards Africa should be

limited in its efforts to the partial elevation of her exiled children in disregard of the millions of her home population sunk in more deep dishonour, and more hopeless ruin. They forgot not the many in their concern for the few.

Were the Genius of Great Britain now to stand before us and survey that empire upon which the sun is said never to set, to what region would he more exultingly point—to what spot look with an eye more brightly kindling with delight than to this reproached colony of Sierra Leone? A territory, reclaimed from the waste of barbarism and the horrors of the slave trade, brought under the shield of civilized power and the divine light of Christianity to be an asylum for Africans unloosed from intolerable chains, and led forth to liberty from the despairful dungeons of the slave ship. The smiles, the songs, the gratefully uplifted hands of from twenty to thirty thousand victims of this atrocity fed, clothed, instructed, tamed from the fierceness of a savage nature, and, casting aside the badges of superstition and shame, testify to the philanthropy which founded, and, with invincible resolution and at great expense, has sustained the colony of Sierra Leone.

A more enviable renown England never won—no, not when from the reluctant hand of the throne she wrung the charter of her liberties—not when beneath the raging waves she sunk the Spanish Armada—not even when her power struck down Napoleon—than when the perishing African cried to her and she listened and saved.

The American Colonization Society rests upon enlarged benevolence towards the whole coloured race.

What were the facts evident to the founders of this society, convened to devise some practicable scheme of good for this unfortunate people?

They saw two millions or more of the coloured population of this country in slavery, and that the system, in regard to its continuance or abolition, was left by the Federal constitution under the exclusive control of the States in which it exists:

That the free people of colour, (then in number 250,000, now much more,) dispersed abroad in all the States, were denied every where, by law, custom, circumstances, or all combined, many of the richest blessings of freedom:

That, in the undivided judgment of the south and the general mind of the north, the elevation of this race on this soil to social and political equality with the whites was impracticable from the nature of the case itself, from the force and fixedness of opinion against it (dictated, in the view of those who hold it, as well by benevolence as political necessity), and that no plan, based on this idea, could unite in its execution the hearts and means of our citizens in all sections of the union. Whether the causes referred to render such elevation absolutely impossible in all future contingencies, is, in regard to immediate duty, plain. They are of sufficient magnitude and power to control the present policy of benevolence and wisdom:

That any great plan of good to this race must depend mainly for success upon such union:

And finally, that there was an unsurpassed moral fitness and grandeur in the colonization in Africa, by our

free people of colour, with their own consent, inasmuch as, while securing to them an unembarrassed position and a national character, all means and motives for self-culture and self-exaltation, it afforded opportunity and inducement for the highest beneficence in unbarring the iron gates of Africa, and connecting their own moral, intellectual, and social improvement with the gift of law, letters, art, liberty, and Christianity to the untutored and uncounted tribes of their ancient mother country.

The organization of the American Colonization Society, avowing in its constitution that "The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient; and that the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject," was, in view of these facts, the result of the united wisdom and counsels, of distinguished patriots and Christians, assembled in convention from widely separated and most differing portions of the union.

It is asserted by the enemies of this Society, that in its constitution there is not a clear developement of moral principles, and, consequently, that the scheme proposed has no moral sanction.

And where in the constitutions of your humane and Christian associations, too numerous to mention, for the instruction of the dumb and the blind, the protec-

tion of orphans, the relief of the destitute and the sick, is a developement of moral principles, or the emblazoning forth of a moral sanction? They need no signals of character. Their objects indicate their principles—the action shows the motive.

And does any reflecting person doubt that the existence of the Colonization Society for the object it avows, implies a conviction in the minds of its founders and friends, that our free people of colour are unfortunate and depressed and should be assisted to rise, that it is a duty (should they concur in the plan) to aid their establishment in a position where they will enjoy not partial liberty but its full power, and rear for themselves, and transmit to their descendants, institutions social, political, and religious, equal to any yet known in human society?

Is it to be imagined that those, who would, by the only means which they believe effectual for the end, confer upon these people these richest blessings, would deny to them any inferior good, diminish their present advantages, or retard under any circumstances their improvement?

And who can fail to infer, that if duty (or benevolence, another name for the same thing) demands our efforts to raise men, who have gained something, perhaps, by liberty, to a condition in which they may possess more, it equally demands of those who have the right and power to prepare men, not free, for freedom, and then, if practicable, so to bestow this freedom upon them, that all its appropriate and choicest blessings may be theirs?

And is it not clear to demonstration, from the nature

of our moral sentiments, that those who aim to elevate the free people of colour to the loftiest privileges of humanity and open a way to these privileges, with the consent of the master, to the slave, must embrace Africa and her unnumbered barbarians, indeed, the whole coloured race within the circuit, and, as they may, within the active influences of their beneficence. True regard to one human being can never be divorced from good-will to the many. True benevolence to the individual must always be identified with benevolence to the race.

But men may err, you say, in their judgments touching their own interests; and may not the wise and the good err in their plans and endeavours to promote the interests of others? We admit your society's motives to be pure, but we deny its practical philanthropy.

Hence arises a question of the enlarged practical beneficence of the policy and proceedings of the American Colonization Society. We maintain that in reason, so far as the aid of this Society is accepted, they *confer inestimable and enduring good upon our free people of colour—add strength and security to our national union—work extensively and powerfully in favour of the voluntary emancipation of slaves, and bestow the best blessings Heaven permits man to enjoy upon Africa.*

The comparison, by one of our ablest divines, of the condition of the free people of colour in the United States to that of the germ springing from the acorn at the foot of the parent tree, was true as fact and of more force than argument. You may say it is of the same nature with the old oak and has as good a right

to be there, yet it must wither unless you take it from the shade. This people are in the shade of our towering and overspreading greatness, and to improve their condition and exalt their character effectually, you must change their circumstances and their place. The wealth, honours, and government of the country are in other hands than theirs. Many of them, doubtless, are respectable for intelligence and moral worth, and their merit is the greater in proportion to the temptations resisted, and the obstacles overcome. Their condition is much the same in all the states, and too generally they may be said to feel the evils of servitude without its alleviations, to be free without the dignity or inspiration of freedom. Posts of distinction, offices of trust, the higher pursuits and rewards of enterprise, art, and genius, they despair to obtain, and therefore do not seek. With heavy incumbrances to keep them down, they want many of the means and motives to rise.

Of different descent from the whites, distinct from them in complexion, history, habits, and employments, they suffer neglect as aliens in the land of their birth; mental bondage in the atmosphere and beneath the expanded wings of liberty. I speak not to disparage, to discourage them, but rather to direct their eyes to that orient star already standing over the spot of their national redemption and coming renown. To what are they invited by this society? To what summoned in the Providence of Almighty God? To tread, in rightful possession, the wide, magnificent, but depopulated territory of their mother country, awe-struck by no superior power, subdued by no mighty competition, restrained

by no force of prejudice, custom, or law, depressed by no sense of weakness or of wrong, and in the consciousness of freedom of all human power, to build up among barbarians the Church of God and a republican empire. Escaped from the despotism of the mind, they feel that liberty of soul, which is the parent of greatness, which turns adverse events, the rigour of discipline, and the shocks of calamity, to the account of wisdom, and makes nature in all her forms tributary to its power; that mental liberty which admits in all their force the influence of all the motives which strengthen and ennoble our immortal faculties, give clearness and comprehensiveness to reason, vigour to imagination, and invincible energy to the will—which arm fortitude, elevate hope, make courage resistless, and, guarding and cherishing the domestic and social affections as the seeds of public virtue, by ties of patriotism, indissoluble because sacred, bind man to his country, and by the golden chain of an all-circumscribing philanthropy, link him for ever to the destinies of mankind. Is it no good we confer, when assisting them to make Liberia to their country what Plymouth and Jamestown have been to this? to do for themselves what all the world can never do for them? to do for their race what can only be expected from their prayers and their labours? They go to Africa for great purposes—to build up their own fortunes, redeem the character of their people, and thus command the respect of the world: to establish upon her shore civilization and free government; to lift the covering of night from her face, and call forth her ignorant, savage,

enslaved children from the desert where the lion roars, or the wilderness where he slumbers, from clay-built huts, from dens and mountain caves, to a purer, nobler life; to rekindle the gone out glories; to rear anew the prostrate, decayed, but giant monuments; to wave the torch of wisdom in the face of superstition and amid the haunts of the ruin of her ancient might; to carve their names as benefactors in her eternal rocks, and bring back that quarter of the earth, long lost to science, liberty, humanity, and religion, to the empire of reason and God. What heart can be weak, what hand want strength in so divine a work? To attempt, and fail in so many great aims must be great, to succeed in all, glorious. It is in the very nature of the enterprise of African colonization that we discern the elements of life and power to our free coloured population—that which must rouse, dignify, exalt them. No man, no people were ever made great by others. It has been by circumstances acting on themselves, by themselves acting with in-bred energy on circumstances, that they have commanded distinction and everlasting fame. By toilsome effort only do the bold and daring gain the Alpine heights, and the eye that thence sees the sun hidden to all eyes below, beams bright with health as honour. On this subject our own national history is full of meaning and instruction. It was because the wintry wind howled around the dwellings of our fathers, and necessity trained them in her school of trial, and their early pathway was rugged and thorny through the wilderness, and tracked by their blood, that they became what they were—unequalled for activity,

sagacity, and enterprise, and capable of binding, we had almost said, capricious fortune and nature, opposed to their designs, in subserviency to their will. Mr. Burke, long before the revolution, saw the effect of trial and circumstances upon their character, and in the British Parliament exclaimed with admiration, "and pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and a resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people yet, as it were, in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." Can we point our free people of colour to an example more instructive than that of our fathers? Can they seek a good or glory greater than theirs?

We have said the operations of this society *add strength and security to our national union.* Strong and secure as we trust this union is, the discussions, during the last six years, on the subject of slavery, have been such as to alienate, in no small degree, the affections of one half the country from the other, and excite, in the minds of sober patriots and able statesmen, a sense and apprehension of danger. If the bond of the federal union is to be sundered, few doubt that differences concerning our coloured population will be the cause. On this subject a fierce conflict of opinion may foretoken, and be hardly less terrible than the shock of arms. Since the union involves interests greater than those of any one people, it should be guarded as we guard our firesides, or the temples and altars of our faith. The hopes of the slave, as well as of his master, depend upon its existence. By common consent the agitations threatening it should be allayed, the spirit of internal discord banished for ever. The citizens of this union are trustees of Truth and Liberty, not only for themselves and their posterity, but for the world. On a subject the greatest, most difficult, most dangerous, that can ever occupy the mind of the country, this society furnishes a bond of union between the south and the north; a channel in which their mutual sympathies, opinions, and charities may commingle; a broad and lofty ground on which the citizens of both may cooperate in good faith to each other and the constitution, for the benefit of the coloured race. Who can well estimate its effect already to repress the vast over-

action of the north, and arouse the too lethargic spirit of the south? to prevent the general adoption of one false opinion on this side of the Potomac, and of one equally false but directly opposite on the other? to save the north from a direct and relentless war upon slavery, and the south from defending it as of divine right and perpetual obligation? Who can tell how much the public tranquillity is owing to the existence and movements of this society, or the evils that might arise should its influence cease to be felt? The thoughts, the sentiments, the government of the union are favourable to universal freedom, and no power or agency is to be lightly regarded, which tends to reconcile all particular interests, and individual and state rights, with the natural influences of our institutions, the spirit of the age, and the progress of liberty. Nature, in her great and benign changes, shows in gentleness and silence the signs of power. The fury of the tempest, the concussions of the earthquake but desolate, rend, and destroy. If our federal constitution must perish by a suicidal spirit, by fraternal hands, which have been pledged mutually for its support, the whole earth will feel the cruel wrong, and human hope, we might almost say, struck down like an eagle soaring "in his pride of place," must expire upon the ruins of the republic. All nations will gather in grief around the agonies of our dissolution, as old Ocean and his daughters gathered with sympathising hearts around the tortured Prometheus, chain-bound inexorably by Force and Fate to the Caucasian rock. At the horrors of the scene they might

be tempted to cry out, with upbraidings of destiny, in the words of the ancient tragic chorus :—

"I see, I see—and o'er my eyes,
Surcharged with sorrow's tearful rain,
Darkly the misty clouds arise—
I see thine adamantine chain:
In its strong grasp thy limbs confined,
And withering in the parching wind.

"Is there a god whose sullen soul
Feels a stern joy in thy despair?
Owns he not pity's soft control,
And drops with sympathy the tear?"*

Oh! in case of so dreadful a catastrophe, where will be found a heaven-born Prometheus, to reanimate, with a divine spark, the lifeless form of liberty?

Time will hardly allow me even a brief expression on this occasion, of the thoughts which have occurred to me on the subject of slavery in the United States, nor would they be very relevant perhaps to my main purpose here, that of showing the influence of the American Colonization Society *to promote voluntary emancipation*. Permit me, however, on this great subject to ask a moment's indulgence.

Human rights are founded upon the moral law or obligation of reciprocal benevolence, ordained by reason and God, to exist between man and man in all circumstances, places, and times. This law exists independently of the will of man and pre-supposes human society. Hence no reasoning is of force, concerning the rights of man, that is founded merely upon his nature,

* Æschylus.

or upon any original compact between him and others, because certain relations of men universally to each other are implied in the very terms of the law, and whether they approve it or not, they are equally bound to obedience. Were there but one man in the world, it is clear he could be the subject of no law which, in the duty it enjoined, took for granted the existence of other men. The golden precept of the Saviour of the world, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," so justly termed by Lord Bacon "the perfection of the law of nature and nations," specifies the universal and unalterable *principle* of duty men owe to each other, and the *method* by which they should decide the varying and innumerable cases to which it must be applied. In each and all these cases we are to try our benevolence by our self-regard—to imagine our neighbour (and such is every man) in our circumstances, and we in his; and in that view, and in view also of the relations of each of us to others, to do for him as our moral judgment tells us, we might reasonably expect him to do for us. Not that we are to treat all men alike, or deem *their* desires or judgment *our* rule of duty, or the interests of the individual of equal importance with the public good. The law binds every man to be the friend of every other man, and every other man to be the friend of him; but in each and all cases, in which the principle is to be made practical, the mode and true manner, (those only excepted where these are fixed by its Author,) are left to the reason of the individual under responsibilities to his conscience and God.

In applying this divine law to the question of American Slavery, while we believe that it should be enthroned supreme in the hearts of states as in that of individuals, and with Dr. Channing "that statesmen work in the dark until the idea of right towers above expediency and wealth," we also believe that society may be so deranged and disordered by the errors, crimes, and misfortunes of a former age, that no human power can instantly correct the evil, and that neither individuals nor society are bound to do impossibilities. Great moral evils may justifiably be tolerated by the state for a time, when acts to prevent them will clearly produce moral evils more terrible and extensive. Such toleration, however, can never rightly be plead in justification of individual crime, nor is it true that such evils can rightly be tolerated for ever. State necessity can never be rightly urged in justification of any policy which tends to limit for ever the influences of the word of God. Providence and revelation are allies, and the order of the one can never contravene the declarations of the other. Dr. Channing has well said: "Slavery in the age of the apostles had so penetrated society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to its victims would have shaken the social fabric to its foundation, and would have armed against itself all the power of the state. Of consequence, Paul did not assail it. He satisfied himself with spreading principles which, however slowly, could not but work its destruction." If there be reason in these sentences and

if the observation of South be just—and in the government of the visible world the supreme wisdom duly submits to be the author of the *better*, not the best, but of the best possible, in the existing relations, much more must human legislators give way to many evils, rather than encourage the discontent that would lead to worse remedies. If Coleridge says truly that "an evil which has come in gradually, and in the growth of which all men have more or less conspired, cannot be removed otherwise than gradually and by the joint efforts of all;" and Burke, that to remedy evils in the state, "a permanent body, made up of transitory parts, it is good to follow the method of nature," and be in what we improve never wholly new, and in what we retain never wholly obsolete, then must we be permitted to think that the *state*, in which slavery was deep-seated, interwoven with all the habits and rooted in the very constitution of society long before the existence of the present depositaries of the political power, is bound to act on the same principle of benevolence, prescribed, it is true, to individual man, but with a broad and full view of the elements and relations involved in an extended moral state of society, and taking things as they are, by the light of its reason and the best wisdom of experience, make them as they should be in the time and manner deemed best conducive to the interests of all concerned. Two causes only should in our judgment retard emancipation for a moment—the incapacity of the slave for self-government, and the danger of collision between the coloured and white races were both free on the soil

of the south. By suitable instruction the first may be removed, and colonization for the second affords an adequate remedy. With the consent of the south, most justly, in our opinion, might the national resources be applied to aid the work.* By abstaining from measures

* My view of the system of slavery, as it exists among us, is briefly this:—Individual masters are morally bound to treat their slaves as their consciences, honestly consulted, decide that they themselves would reasonably or rightfully expect to be treated in the same condition and circumstances. And this perfect law of Christianity, should govern political bodies, no less than individuals. Adopting this, the royal law of Christ, as a universal, perfect rule of duty between man and man, in all conditions, circumstances and times, it follows, therefrom:

1st. That any doctrine or practice which would justify or maintain slavery as a perpetual system, is abominable; because reason and conscience in the breast of every man, assert his natural capability for freedom, and of course, that this capability belongs to other men. And as his judgment must decide that it could never be right for others to consign him and his posterity to perpetual and involuntary servitude, so does it equally, that he can never justly contribute to perpetuate a system which consigns others to that condition.

2d. That human liberty should never be weighed in the balances with money, or estimated by dollars and cents. There is no man who does not regard his own liberty as more precious than property, and in the same light, is he to regard the liberty of others.

3d. All rigorous laws imposed on those subjected to this system (not necessary for the good of the enslaved, or indispensable to the preservation of the public peace and safety) cannot too soon be abolished. Such, I believe there are; and every humane and Christian man should exert his influence to have them erased from the State codes.

4th. Where the system exists, those who have the political power, are as much bound to proceed *benevolently* in their measures to remedy and remove it, as they are to proceed at all. They must not forget that "civil society is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is (or should be) beneficence, acting by rule." Nor that "restraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reck-

unconstitutional and dangerous in the judgment of the south to urge onward abolition;* by acknowledging that this can only be effected with their free will and consent, by co-operating with them in a plan which, as benevolent to the whole coloured population has received their sanction, and exhibiting an asylum to which the liberated can be sent without injury to the state and infinite advantage to themselves, and which in the rising

oned (in a sense) among their rights." They ought not to attempt to do that suddenly and by a blow, which they know may be done more safely and beneficially with caution and preparation.

5th. It *may be* the duty of individual masters to liberate their slaves, before the State is morally bound to enact laws for the *entire* and universal abolition of slavery. For particular slaves may be qualified for freedom, and their masters may have ability to place them where such freedom would be to them a benefit, while the great mass of the slave population are unqualified for *perfect* freedom, and the State feels prohibited by motives of enlarged benevolence, from conferring it, instantly, upon them. There is no danger that either States or individuals at the South, will act too soon or too earnestly on the subject. The great object should be, I humbly conceive, to awaken in all minds a sense of justice and benevolence towards our whole coloured population. All should immediately and earnestly unite in preparing them for freedom. When qualified therefor, there should be no hesitation in conferring it upon them. "It is advanced in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds, cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."—*Life of Ashmun.*

* My impression is, that, with the consent of the south, the whole system of slavery might with safety be immediately so modified, as to place the slave population in a situation to enjoy all the privileges in which men so rude and degraded could find advantage; and, in connexion with the policy of colonization, to prepare them, at no remote period, for entire freedom. Peculiar legislative enactments might, for a season, be indispensable, and of the nature and extent of these, benevolent and enlightened citizens in the south can best judge.

character and hopes of the free who occupy it appeals to their deepest sympathies and most generous sentiments in behalf of the slave; by interchanging the sober opinions of the north, in regard to our coloured population, with the philanthropic sentiments of the south, this society effectually promotes the cause of freedom, and presents motives of persuasiveness and power in favour of emancipation. The demonstration in Liberia of the capabilities of the coloured race for self-government, every despatch from that colony, every ship that sails thither, every example of emancipation, that those covered with the dust and dishonours of servitude may share the dignity and hopes of its citizens, plead eloquently the cause of human freedom. Fifteen hundred slaves, standing as freemen at the will of their masters, on that shore, and property, including the value of those liberated, exceeding probably $2,600,000, given as a free-will offering to the cause of this society, sustain the truth of our position. This society comes forward to bestow the best blessings Heaven permits men to enjoy, upon Africa.

This intelligent audience know what Africa was and what she is—her former glory, her present shame. Alas, it is for none of us to know or imagine the extent of her miseries, the depth of her degradation. Anciently the seat of art, genius, empire; the land of Thebes, Egypt, Carthage, and even now bearing marks of grandeur amid the fragments of her ruins. Some faint glory lingers around her time-worn but undecayed monuments, temples, and pyramids—a light dimly burning upon the sepulchre, a smile to make us sad upon the countenance

of death. With an immense and fertile territory spread out beneath a climate adapted to mature the richest products of the earth—a population of at least 60,000,000, fine navigable rivers, and every advantage for a wide, profitable commerce—for centuries has she been left a prey to ignorance, imposture, superstition, barbarism, and the slave trade, that giant sin and outrage of the civilized world, showing sights of horror at which the rocks might weep and the fierce and savage winds, unused to pity, speak out in tones indignant and appalling, to startle the faithless conscience of the nations. But even inanimate nature would, we fear, utter her terrifying rebukes in vain. If the writings and labours of Clarkson, the eloquence of Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, if no sense of justice, no compunctions of conscience, no sentiments of compassion, no divine precepts of Christianity—if neither courts of mixed commission, nor West Indian emancipation, nor the condemning opinion and law of all the powers of Christendom have even diminished this cruel commerce, what, without a change of policy is to be expected, is to be done? It is a fact of deepest interest that Thomas Fowell Buxton, member of the British Parliament, upon whom rests the mantle of Wilberforce, who stands first and foremost among living statesmen in endeavours to suppress the slave trade and civilize Africa, has, in a work just published, developed facts and principles, and expressed opinions going to sustain the views and policy of the Colonization Society, as those, by which alone the great and benevolent objects of the friends of Africa can be fully attained. Mr. Buxton has shown from a deep and thorough ex-

amination into all the sources of evidence in the case, that the slave trade has increased both in the number of its victims and the horrors of their sufferings in defiance of all efforts for its extinction; that "twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson entered upon their noble task;" that the number annually lost to Africa, either perishing in seizure, on the ocean, or consigned to inexorable bondage by the Christian or Mahomedan slave trades, is 475,000; "that every day which we live in security and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep to the alternative of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle;" that at this very moment "there are at least twenty thousand human beings on the Atlantic, exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage;" that the Christian powers are generally unfaithful in the execution of their own enactments for the overthrow of this traffic; that little ground exists for hope that it will be made piracy by the law of nations; that if it were, the extraordinary profit, the enormous gains of the slave trade would defeat all laws and movements against it, and finally avows his conviction that the slave trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued.

Turning from this system in despair, he boldly declares: "A legitimate commerce with Africa would put down the slave trade, by demonstrating the superior value of man as a labourer on the soil, to man as an object of merchandise, and if conducted on wise and

equitable principles might be the precursor, or rather the attendant, of civilization, peace, and Christianity to the unenlightened, warlike, and heathen tribes who now so fearfully prey on each other to supply the markets of the new world." "I firmly believe," he says, "that Africa has within herself the means and the endowments which might enable her to shake off, and to emerge from her load of misery, to the benefit of the whole civilized world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own now barbarous population." He urges all Christian nations to unite in one great confederacy "for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of Africa," and, avowing the opinion that, the slave trade once suppressed, she would present "the finest field for Christian Missionaries which the world has seen opened to them," regards as a circumstance unique in the case of her population, "that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in a course of rapid preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the slave trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa."

We almost forget for a moment these shocking statements touching the slave trade, in delightful astonishment at the views, convictions, and hopes of Mr. Buxton, representative, we doubt not, of those of the wisest and best philanthropists of England, blazing

suddenly out from thick mists of doubt and error, like a new constellation in the heavens, to cheer our heart, give new courage to humanity, and shed sweet influences upon the land of slaves. The world is coming forward to sustain our enterprise. Mr. Buxton has only adopted the original principles and policy of the American Colonization Society; his plans are but a republication of theirs. Liberia was planted, has been sustained to be a civilized state, a Christian commonwealth of free coloured men on the shore of Africa, to suppress the slave trade, to impart instruction in letters, the useful arts, in agriculture, law, and religion, to her barbarous tribes, to guard their rights, encourage their industry, reform their manners, rouse their enterprise, and exhibiting before their eyes, and offering in their markets the articles of our skill tempting to their wants or their fancy, to turn them from a detestable to a lawful commerce; and finally, by developing her resources, and stimulating the energies, slumbering, but not extinct, in her bosom, to bring her up from the shadows of the wilderness and the eclipse of ages, to stand with devotion in her heart, power in her aspect, and honour on her brow before the world. What blessings richer can be conferred on her? What greater can she enjoy?

Such is our theory; you must look across the ocean for the exemplification of its truth. Cast your eye then upon Liberia. See what has been effected by this society. What well-built town stands on that bold height, recently trod by the slave trader, now bearing the flag of freedom, reflecting the light of civilization on the waves, and pointing its church spires, em-

blematic of human hope, towards the throne of the Almighty, with schools, courts of justice, and a periodical press; the seat of order, industry, and law; accumulating property, opening new resources of enterprise, and extending its commerce and its influence? It is Monrovia; beautifully looking out upon the rough mariner, like the eye of mercy from beneath the shaggy brow of despair. And that sweet village near by? It is New Georgia, the home of some four hundred recaptured Africans, rescued from slavery, and by the humanity of our government restored to their country. Order, comfort, neatness mark their dwellings; their streets planted with shady trees; their well-cultivated fields and gardens; their children thronging to the school, and the churches in which they worship the common Father of us all, show that they have thrown off the customs of savage nature, and clothed themselves in the beautiful garments of Christian life. Ask them what this society has done, and let the nearly two hundred of them who have been baptized in the name of Christ make reply. And here a few miles distant look down upon the agricultural settlement of Caldwell, the residence of emigrants, who are converting the wilderness into a fruitful field, and demonstrating how the soil of Africa will reward the hand of labour, and her children, once trained to its cultivation, its rich and varied products, its coffee, cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar, supply themselves with whatever necessity can demand or luxury desire. Higher up, on the margin of the river St. Paul's, observe the village of Millsburg, its white houses adorning the hill side, and smiling through

the trees. More retired than the others from the visits of strangers, and more eligible, perhaps, both for health and agriculture, it has been selected by our Methodist brethren for the seat of an institution in which native Africans may be educated to become teachers and guides to the interior tribes.

Return, if you please, to the sea-coast, and thirty miles below Monrovia pause a moment at the settlement of Marshall. Pause, at least, in honour of that name, engraven on the hearts of Africa and America; a name of power to plead this cause, while the admiration of virtue or of liberty inhabits human hearts.

Five thousand coloured emigrants from the United States, extending their laws over an extent of coast for three hundred miles, with eighteen churches, the means of education, sharing in all the blessings and responsibilities of free government, embodying eight hundred members of the Christian church, are there stirred with the sublime enthusiasm of liberty to expel from Africa the invaders of her rights, and the murderers of her children, and carry the triumphs of Christianity to her central mountains, and the waves of the Niger. Is this nothing to be accomplished by a benevolent society in less than twenty years, and at an expense of a little more than half a million of dollars?

And farther down, at the mouth of the river St. Johns, rest and contemplate that little sisterhood of towns planted by the zeal, cherished by the affections of your society. The fountain in the desert, the flowers that bloom by its side are not more charming. See in these prosperous and rising settlements, that owe their exist-

ence to your benevolence, the seeds of life, the buddings forth of virtue and immortal hope to perishing Africa.*

Nor let us fail to examine the settlement of Greenville, at the mouth of Sinoo river, testifying the interest of our far-distant but most generous friends in Mississippi and Louisiana in this cause; destined to stand a noble and enduring monument to their praise.

And the colony of Cape Palmas, founded by Maryland, and guarded and sustained by her government, with its well-disciplined population, great commercial advantages, and ample means of social advancement, proclaims what a single state can, and what the United States might and should do for this cause.

The Christian missionaries, some thirty in number, representing not less than four religious denominations in our country, have, through the influence of these settlements, found admission to the heathen in their vicinity, and under their protecting wings, are successfully engaged in their divine work. Nor will minds capable of deep reflection, (even should opinion, from some sources entitled to respect, be expressed to the contrary,) doubt the soundness of the judgment of Dr. Philip, the learned and eloquent superintendant of the London society's missions in South Africa, when he says :—

"Half a dozen such colonies, conducted on Christian

* The pure spirit of that meek female Friend, Mrs. Beulah Sansom, who awoke so many minds in this city to a holy enthusiasm of benevolence towards Africa, must look from her eternal house upon the schools planted through her efforts in these villages with delight, and gratefully bless Him whom she worships, for permission to thus open the path of wisdom to the simple, and of salvation to the lost.

principles, might be the means, under the divine blessing, of regenerating this degraded quarter of the globe. Every prospective measure for the improvement of Africa must have in it the seminal principles of good government; and no better plan can be devised for laying the foundations of Christian government, than that which this new settlement (Liberia) presents. Properly conducted your new colony may become an extensive empire, which may be the means of shedding the blessings of civilization and peace over a vast portion of this divided and distracted continent."

To what does duty now urge the friends of this society? That almost solitary white man, who, in the spirit and power of Ashmun, is heading the forces of these infant colonies, and nobly adventuring his life in conflict with the slave trade; who weeps over the dishonoured flag of his country, and bleeding and outraged Africa, and appeals to America and the world to sustain freedom and Christianity in their struggle against the powers of darkness. He appeals to you. Would that his fine manly form were in the midst of us; that in this hall we could look upon his countenance, and hear his voice. He speaks to you from the scene of his trials. He entreats aid. Your generous hearts will respond to his appeal.

Let us act with entire confidence in the practicableness, to the utmost extent of the scheme of colonization. No power can restrain its complete execution, on the largest scale desired, when its beneficence, in all its aspects and influences, is demonstrated to the universal reason of men. The only imaginable obstacles to its en-

tire practicability—the opposition of the free people of colour; a deficiency in means to aid them, and indisposition to emancipate slaves—must vanish when all are compelled to acknowledge its philanthropy. The sense of interest and of duty will co-operate for its success. Africa herself will offer resistless attractions to her long-lost children, and bring forth her treasures to hasten their return.

And shall we not, by an organization the most efficient, by our zeal and activity, by the invincible energy of our purpose, and all the power of the press, make prevalent our opinions in the mind of the country. Let us submit our plan to the national congress, assured that discussion on its merits there will prove of infinite advantage; never despairing of aid from the power and treasure of the Union.

Let the grandeur of the enterprise impress our hearts. Great are our allies, Truth, Time, and all-conquering Providence. Our work is for a nation and an age; its results will be felt by nations in two hemispheres for ever. The wisdom of antiquity was wont to decree the highest honours to the founders of states; and when, through the energy of our free coloured population, and the agency of this society, a constellation of Christian states shall adorn the whole extended coast of Africa, the historian will recur to the evidence of a prophetic sagacity in the lofty sentiments expressed by the late General Harper at the very dawn of this enterprise:—"How vast and sublime a career does this undertaking open to a generous ambition, aspiring to deathless fame by great and useful actions! Who can count the mil-

lions that, in future times, shall bless the names of those by whom this magnificent scheme of beneficence and philanthropy has been conceived, and shall be carried into execution? Throughout the widely extended regions of middle and southern Africa, then filled with populous and polished nations, their memories shall be cherished, and their praises sung. When other states, and even the flourishing and vigorous nation to which they belong, now, in its flower of youth, shall have run their round of rise, grandeur, and decay, and like the founders of Palmyra, Tyre, Babylon, Memphis, and Thebes, shall no longer be known, except by vague reports of their former greatness, or by some fragments of their works of art, the monuments of their taste, their power, or their pride, which they may have left behind."

Then will be discerned the propriety, the inimitable beauty with which that greatest man of all men, (Lord Bacon,) he whose spirit still rules in the kingdom of philosophy, recommends to the English monarch the colonization of Ireland. Of several considerations, he says: "The first of the four is honour, whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory, wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand around him, as in a theatre; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust, and of prey, and listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp, and soon after called likewise the

stones and woods to remove and stand in order about him: which fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and plantation of kingdoms; when people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge, and blood, and of dissolute life, and of theft and rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments; whereupon immediately followeth the calling of stones for building and habitation; and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards and enclosures, and the like. This work, therefore, of all other most memorable and honourable, your majesty hath now in hand; especially if your majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism."

Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society:

Very imperfectly, I am sensible, have I performed the task assigned me. For a patient kindness of attention you and this audience have my heartfelt thanks.

I have sought to show that the American Colonization Society arose from the united wisdom and benevolence of the country, and that it rests on enlarged humanity to the coloured race. Slavery is left by the federal constitution under the exclusive control of the states in which it exists. The citizens of these states will unite with those of the north in a plan of good for this race, limited in its direct action, by the terms of its constitution, to the free; and in thus uniting, they do it from avowed benevolence to the free people of colour, to the slaves, and to the millions of Africa cast down

in shame and darkness, vice and ruin, far worse than they. They deem that duty, solemn as the fate of two nations, and two continents, for all coming time, urges the execution of a plan which will place our free coloured people, with their own consent, where they may not only bear the name, but feel the power of freedom, and national and independent, command respect, and redeem their race. With their aid and blessing a few magnanimous and heroic spirits of this oppressed and dishonoured people have gone back from exile, and by the might of His outstretched arm, who demolishes or builds up empires, founded the free Christian commonwealth of Liberia. Higher motives, a kindling spirit and the sense of grandeur, have made them men. They are struck down by no superior power. Not that celestial fire in which the goddess mother of Achilles bathed her son to render him immortal, has touched their souls, but that diviner flame, shed upon the first Christian church, enduing it with the richest gifts, and consecrating it to the noblest service of humanity. It is a truth for history. Those who directed its first movements, most of its guides and governors have been men of God. Scarce more signally was the great Jewish lawgiver chosen to found that commonwealth, in which shone the visible glory of the Most High, than was Ashmun to guide this colony in its first hours of peril, and stamp it with honour. Beneath that soil, in hope of resurrection to a nobler life, sleep the precious remains of Bacon, Andrews, Carey, Cox, and others, who, in their sublime endeavours to save souls, lived but to see the day dawning on Africa, and the day-star rising in her heart.

Twelve hundred slaves, or more, casting away their chains at the bidding of their masters, stand there erect, to share, in equal measure with the freest, all that gives worth to society, or value and dignity to life. Towns, villages, school-houses, churches, for three hundred miles, throw a smile of beauty on the barbarous features of that continent. Broken open are the huge doors of that vast prison-house—one quarter of the world—where iron-hearted despotism and the accursed slave trade have poured trembling into millions of hearts, shorn humanity of all its honours, "stirred the worst passions of the human soul, darkening the spirit of revenge, sharpening the greediness of avarice, brutalizing the selfish, envenoming the cruel, famishing the weak, and crushing to death the broken-hearted."* And must all our pity fall upon two millions of slaves in a humane and Christian country? Have we not a drop to spare for their more numerous, more afflicted brethren in their mother land; a country struggling, like the fabled giants, beneath mountains of calamity, and consumed by volcanic fires. I am silent. I see on that distant shore an august form; his step is stately; his eye flashes indignation; strength is in his arm; power on his brow. His shadow once made Burns exclaim:—

"Had I a statue been of stane, his darin' look had daunted me,
And on his bonnet graved was plain, the sacred posy LIBERTY,
And from his harp sic strains did flow,
Might rouse the slumbering dead to hear."

His harp is thrown aside for the trumpet; its tones

* Judge Story.

ring out over land and sea; he has struck the Devourer of millions; shall he not give the death-blow to the monster, that his dragon wing of darkness may droop in death for ever? And by his side is sweet Pity, beautiful as an angel, her eye glowing even through tears with a divine compassion, and in tones more touching than those of the modest charming bird who greets with hymn enchanting the evening star, she speaks to those who best represent her in this audience.

> "The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
> It droppeth like the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath: It is twice blessed;
> It blesseth him that gives, and him who takes."

And awful Justice is there, frowning upon our apathy, and pointing to the omnipotent and unerring tribunal before which we must all shortly stand; and Religion! meekness and majesty in his countenance, stretching out his hand, with the bread of life and the cup of salvation, to that scarred, wo-clad, chain-bound, heart-stricken mother of enslaved millions. Speak to us, thou most wretched! She is dumb with agony. Not like Rachel or Niobe,

> "Childless, but crownless in her voiceless wo;"

Her tears fall more for the living than the dead. See through her tattered garment her fresh bleeding stripes. The iron enters her soul. Can you look upon her and not weep. Oh Africa! if I forget thee, (here, in the presence of Almighty God, will not each of you unite with me in saying,) oh Africa, "if I forget thee, let this right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

THE NEGRO

AND

JAMAICA.

THE NEGRO

AND

JAMAICA.

BY

COMMANDER BEDFORD PIM,

ROYAL NAVY.

READ BEFORE

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,

FEBRUARY 1, 1866,

AT

ST. JAMES'S HALL, LONDON.

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PREFACE.

When the news of the Jamaica rebellion arrived in this country I felt that at last my countrymen, whether they liked it or not, were brought face to face with the negro, and that a clear view of his peculiarities should be laid before them, so as to assist in properly handling this most important subject, whether politically or religiously, in such a manner as to aid in settling the question.

The only scientific tribunal before which this could be done with effect was that vigorous and fearless body, the Anthropological Society of London, whose labours will be better appreciated when it is understood that the numerous races composing our vast empire can only be governed properly by studying their anthropological characteristics. This Society has already done good service in bringing forward the facts of "the black question," by the publication of several excellent memoirs, amongst which that of its President, Dr. James Hunt, on 'The Negro's Place in Nature,' has acquired a well-merited popularity.

My paper on 'The Negro at Home and Abroad' having been accepted by the Anthropological Society, the demand for tickets of admission was so great that it was found necessary to secure St. James's Hall, the rooms of the Society in St. Martin's Place being too small.

On the 1st of February the spacious hall was crowded with persons eager to obtain that information so studiously withheld, or so wilfully perverted by those who have hitherto attempted to lead public opinion.

The unanimous demonstration of a crowded and highly respectable audience in favour of the arguments used in my Paper, based as they were known to be on long practical experience of the Negro character, leads me to hope that I have brought forward my facts opportunely, and that the shallowness and impiety of those who have dared to compare the wretched Gordon with St. Stephen, nay even with our Saviour himself, will be, in the future, thoroughly understood.

Does England owe one particle of her proud position to the patriotism, the self-denial, or the statesmanlike teachings of the professional philanthropists of Exeter Hall? Fearless of contradiction, I reply that the very reverse is the case.

Jealous of the honour and dignity of my country, I have felt keenly the course taken by our Government in Jamaican affairs. Whether or not they have been urged thereto by rowdy deputations, based on "eight miles of dead bodies," and other equally clever fabrications, one thing is certain, that a public servant of whom any country might be proud—"one of the very finest types of English manhood"—has been deposed and degraded for making the safety of his trust the supreme law.

Why was not the example of Governor Eyre, in his generous readiness to accept responsibilities scarcely belonging to him, and his manly determination to support his subordinates at all hazards, followed by his superiors at home,—at least *until proof had been obtained,* that the malignant assertions of his enemies had some foundation in fact?

The weakness and short-sightedness of our present policy with regard to Jamaica, can only lead to one result, viz. that of making it impossible for the whites to live in the island with any degree of security; a regular exodus of all the white settlers will

soon become inevitable; and I do not see how to prevent the contagion from spreading all over the West Indies. Such an emigration would be to me personally most valuable, possessing as I do the control of a million and a half of acres of land in Central America, where such a body of acclimatized and enterprising people would be received with open arms, and soon prove extremely valuable in swelling its resources. But the plain duty which every Englishman owes to the land of his birth made me put aside these and similar considerations, and compelled me to point out the danger of adhering to a policy which must crush out all zeal and decision in our public servants, and which is pregnant with evil to the progress of our colonial empire all over the world.

BEDFORD PIM.

Belsize Square, Hampstead,
February, 1866.

THE NEGRO.

PART I.

IN THE OLD WORLD.

I DO not propose this evening to enter into a merely technical dissertation on the subject which has been announced to you. I wish rather to show the negro's place in history, in other words, his ancient and modern condition. First, in his own country and, secondly, abroad.

Undoubtedly, at this moment the chief interest of our subject lies in recent events and the lessons which the merest review of the past and present condition of any large portion of the human race must necessarily suggest.

And here I would say at the outset, that I do not believe in the morality of palliating murder and rebellion, whether committed by a black or a white; nor do I deem it right to stand forth as the champion of the theoretical grievances of every low-caste and depraved population of our empire.

I shall therefore speak of the negro as I find him in history and in life, though in so doing I may be compelled to present him in language somewhat different from the maudlin eulogiums bestowed upon him of late by the enthusiastic negrophilists of Exeter Hall. Up to the present time it must be admitted that the *origin* of the negro is most obscure; whatever service, therefore, science may yet render in clearing up this obscurity, one thing is certain, that even yet there is little but conjecture to guide us.

Anthropologists,—although still far from having completed even a rudimentary study of that part of the human race of which the black man is the type,—have nevertheless succeeded in eliminating from a confused mass of opinion certain facts which may ultimately set at rest the vexed question of the *equality* of two great divisions of the human family.

Theories of origin are not wanting: one points to Cain, as the wicked progenitor of the race; another, with equal confidence, fixes upon Canaan, the son of Ham, who, the Bible tells us, went out into the world under a curse.

But with regard to such theories, it is not a little curious, as showing the inconsistencies of our professional philanthropists, that whilst they invariably and with great Scriptural unction adopt one or the other of these views, they at the same time insist on the absolute equality between a race, to which they delight to point as labouring under a curse for thousands of years, and a people which has advanced in comparatively modern times to the highest degree of civilization.

There is still another theory to which I must allude, viz. that Adam and Eve were black;—that civilization in the course of ages whitened the skin;—and that only the refuse of society continues of the primitive colour.

These, however, can only be called guesses as to the origin of the negro, and, in a scientific point of view, they are absolutely valueless.

But let us leave the regions of doubt, and see what kind of information can be gleaned from the light of history. Here the mind naturally reverts to those imperishable monuments, so profusely scattered over the land of Egypt, and which have proved such unerring pilots to discovery. The sculptures carry us back thousands of years before the Christian era,—thousands of years before the people of this country were even known as the rudest of savages,—and on them we find the well-known features of the negro, portrayed with a fidelity and truth, which leave not a doubt of his identity,—as being, in fact, the counterpart of the African of the present day.

Nilotic antiquities, however, are not the only guides to a comparison between the negro of that early period and our own. The hieroglyphics are doubtless most valuable, as giving an idea of the manners and customs of the Egyptians, and especially as showing the position held by the negro amongst an early civi-

lized race; but in addition, we are in possession of the actual bodies of those who thought, moved, and worked on the earth at that distant time.

Thanks to the art of embalming, we possess the mummy-head of a negress, showing the lineaments so perfectly, that if the individual had been an old acquaintance we should at once recognize her. Here we have the facial angle of 70°, the low, compressed forehead, the flattened nose and face,—in short, all those characteristics with which we are so familiar at the present day. This mute testimony is the strongest confirmation of the sculptured records, and is also proof positive that the negro of that period was in immediate contact with a high state of civilization.

Other mummies, excavated at the same time and country, are of a higher type; for, notwithstanding the bitumen which has blackened the skin, the facial angle, elevation of forehead, aristocratic nose, hair still soft and silky, prove this, and leave no room for cavil or doubt.

We may thus, without fear of contradiction, fix the position of the negro at the earliest period recorded in the world's history. He was then a menial,—in other words, a slave; nay more, the lowest type of man known to the civilization of that day.

Century after century rolls away; page after page of the hieroglyphics is unfolded; but not the smallest change is discoverable in the condition of the negro. On the banks of the Nile, I have myself carefully examined some of the earliest hieroglyphics in which the negro is depicted, and also some of a thousand years later; but it would have taken the eye of a microscopist to detect the slightest difference in any of the characteristics of the race, although so wide an interval of time had elapsed, and so close a connection with a higher civilization existed.

I have thus endeavoured to point out the actual status of the negro at the period of his first appearance in history five thousand years ago, and to show that a long connection with civilization had in no way modified either his form or nature; but to those of my countrymen who have not travelled in Egypt, and yet desire to inform themselves more fully on this peculiar subject, I would commend the papyrus rolls at the British Museum; as teaching somewhat more of the individual than can be gained from the descriptions given in Exeter Hall.

I will now take another downward step on the ladder of time,

and show what our more immediate predecessors in civilization, the Greeks and Romans, thought of the negro; and although it would be easy to multiply the proof that the civilization of these had no more effect on the negro than that of the Egyptian, yet I do not propose to take up your time with a disquisition on this part of my subject. In the days of Æschylus, and even 500 years before his time,—the days of Homer,—the negro was as well known as he is now, and, as regards his social place among races, perfectly defined. Virgil,* writing on this subject, brings us up to about 2000 years of our own times. He says—

> "From Afric she, the swain's sole serving-maid,
> Whose face and form alike her birth betrayed,
> With woolly locks, lips tumid, sable skin;
> Wide bosom, udders flaccid, belly thin,
> Legs slender; broad and most misshapen feet,
> Chapped into chinks, and parched with solar heat."

Virgil, in point of fact, photographs the negro of the present day through the cumulus of 2000 years; and his testimony alone would be sufficient to prove that as the race was then, so it is now. In short, after centuries of contact with the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Arabians, the original characteristics stick to the negro; *he has gained no permanent good;* and I commend this fact to the negrophilists.

But our own history may now be appealed to, in further proof that the negro does not advance in the social scale. Cæsar tells us that the ancient Britons, 1900 years ago, were so savage that they were not even fit for slaves. This opinion is pregnant with instruction, especially in an anthropological point of view, as showing the great gulf between the European and Nigritian races. Like the Red Indian of the American continent, the ancient Britons could not exist under the restriction of their freedom; they were so savage, in other words so uncontrollable, that they could not be made to bow the neck to their conquerors.

Let me ask you for one moment to picture to yourselves the stately form of Caractacus in the streets of Rome, and his brother-slave, the negro, a prince of Ashantee we will suppose, in chains beside him, both savage, both untutored; but, in other respects, how widely different! Can any man in his senses call

* Virgil *in Moretum.*

them equals, except in affliction? Can any sane man reflect upon the nobleness of the one and the abject nature of the other, and accept the theory of equality? And if this holds good in the primitive state of the Briton, what must the intelligence of the nineteenth century think of such a comparison now?—The highest order of intellect the world has yet seen, on a level with one of the lowest! It were well to consign such a paradox to the limbo of other utopian ideas with the least possible delay.

Let us now examine the state of civilization which exists in the interior of Africa, where at all events the native is more or less free from those external influences which, as our negrophilists insist, only tend to injure his morals; and then let us see what contact with the civilization of modern Europe has done for the transplanted negro since Las Casas conceived the benevolent idea of substituting him for the rapidly disappearing aborigines of America.

With regard to the state and condition of the people of the interior of Africa, we have the most abundant testimony from all sorts of eye-witnesses. Numbers of educated men have devoted their lives to explore and describe the people and country, and from the time of Vasco da Gama to our own, modern civilization has been as much in contact with Africa as the ancient.

Travellers have explored the interior, sailors the coast-line, men of business have had practical dealings with the natives, but there is only one opinion as to the innate cruelty of the negro, his sensuality, his brutality under the influence of superstition or when excited or misled, his inbred sloth,—in short, the almost total absence of those attributes which enable other races of mankind to advance in civilization.

In 1795–6 we have Park's travels; and the experience of the eighteenth century is thus cleverly epitomized in the following extract:—"Vices the most notorious seem to be the portion of this unhappy race,—idleness, treachery, revenge, cruelty, impudence, stealing, lying, profanity, debauchery, and intemperance, are said to have extinguished the principles of natural law, and to have silenced the reproofs of conscience. They are strangers to every sentiment of compassion, and are an awful example of the corruption of man when left to himself." ('Encyclopædia Britannica,' art. Negro, 1797.)

Again, we have in 1816, the settlement at the mouth of the Gambia; in 1822, Denham and Clapperton; in 1826, Major

Laing; in 1831, the Landers; in 1841, a naval expedition of three steamers; and within the last few years the experience of Burton, Baker, Speke and Grant, Livingstone,—in short, a mass of material upon which to form a correct opinion.

To quote from all these will be unnecessary. I prefer to come to a period within the recollection of the youngest among us, in order to show that the negro of the present day is essentially the negro of the past. What does Speke say?—"Laziness is inherent in the negroes; they will not work unless compelled to do so. Having no God, in the Christian sense of the term, to fear or worship, they have no love for truth, honour, or honesty. Controlled by no government, nor yet by home ties, they have no reason to think of, or look to, the future." And he adds, after speaking of the negro tasting the sweets of liberty on board ship as a sailor, that, "If chance bring him back again to Zanzibar, he calls his old Arab master his father, and goes into slavery with as much zest as ever."

Baker, recently returned from the sources of the Nile, fully endorses Speke's opinion, and Burton, without doubt the most accomplished traveller of this century, in his 'Mission to the King of Dahome,' vol. ii. chap. xix., gives his valuable experience in the most unqualified terms:—

"My opinions have been formed mostly by comparing, after ten years of travel, 'on and off,' the Africans with the Western Asiatics, amongst whom I have lived eight years, for the most part like one of themselves.

"Touching the African, it may be observed that there are in England at least two distinct creeds:—1. That of those who know him. 2. That of those who do not. This may be predicated of most other moot-points in the negro's case; however, the singularity is, that ignorance, not knowledge,—sentimentality, not sense,—sway the practical public mind.

"One of the principal negro-characteristics is his truly savage want of veneration for God or man; hence the expressions which we should deem blasphemous in his wild state, and the peculiar tone of his prayer, commanding rather than supplicating, which distinguish him in his semi-civilization.

"He has never grasped the ideas of a personal Deity, a duty in life, a moral code, or a shame of lying.

"The negro will obey a white man more readily than a mulatto, and a mulatto rather than one of his own colour. He never

thinks of claiming equality with the Aryan race, except when taught. At Whydah the French missionaries remark that their scholars always translate 'white' and 'black' by 'master' and 'slave.'

"The negro, as a rule, despises agriculture, so highly venerated by the Asiatics, Chaldæans, Chinese, Israelites, and Persians, and recognized since the days of Aristotle as the most important of all sciences.

"His highest ambition is to be a petty trader, whilst his thick skull, broad bones, and cold porous leathery skin, point him out as a born 'hewer of wood and drawer of water.'

"The cruelty of the negro is like that of a schoolboy, the blind impulse of rage, combined with want of sympathy. Thus he thoughtlessly tortures and slays his prisoners, as the youth of England torment and kill cats. He fails in the domestication of the lower animals, because he is deficient in forbearance with them.

"The negro has never invented an alphabet, a musical scale, or any other element of knowledge. Music and dancing, his passions, are, as arts, still in embryo. In the mass he will not improve beyond a certain point, and that not respectable; he mentally remains a child, and is never capable of a generalization.

"The negro is nowhere worse than at home, where he is a curious mixture of cowardice and ferocity. With the barbarous dread and horror of death, he delights in the torments and the destruction of others, and, with more than the usual savage timidity, his highest boast is that of heroism. He is nought but self; he lacks even the rude virtue of hospitality, and ever, as Commander Forbes has it, he 'baits with a sprat to catch a mackerel.'

"The negro, in his wild state, makes his wives work; he will not, or rather he cannot labour, except by individual compulsion, as in the Confederate States, or by necessity, as in Barbadoes. When so compelled, he labours well, and he becomes civilized and humanized to the extent of his small powers. When not compelled, as Sierra Leone and Jamaica prove, he becomes degraded, debauched, and depraved.

"I conclude therefore, with Franklin, the philosopher, that the negro is still as he has been for the last 4000 years, best when 'held to labour' by better and wiser men than himself.

"The removal of the negro from Africa is like sending a boy to school,—it is his only chance of improvement, of learning

that there is something more in life than drumming and dancing, talking and singing, drinking and killing. After a time, colonists, returned to Africa, may exert upon the continent an effect for which we have as yet vainly looked."

Another eye-witness, Captain Canot, in a work not much known in this country, and published by Appleton and Co., of New York, in 1854, says:—"During my first visit to Digby, I promised my trading friends that I would either return to their settlement, or at least send merchandise and a clerk to establish a factory."

There were two towns at Digby governed by cousins, and this mercantile venture gave rise to a feud between them which ended in a war, in which Captain Canot himself, though not siding with either party, was taken prisoner. After describing the battle, he says:—"A palaver-house immediately in front of my quarters was the general rendezvous, and scarcely a bushman appeared without the body of some maimed and bleeding victim. The mangled but living captives were tumbled on a heap in the centre, and soon every avenue to the square was crowded with exulting savages. Rum was brought forth in abundance for the chiefs. Presently, slowly approaching from a distance, I heard the drums, horns, and war-bells, and in less than fifteen minutes, a procession of women, whose naked limbs were smeared with chalk and ochre, poured into the palaver-house to join the beastly rites. Each of these devils was armed with a knife, and bore in her hand some cannibal trophy. The wife of Jen-Ken (the leader of one party), a corpulent wretch of forty-five, dragged along the ground, by a single limb, the slimy corpse of an infant ripped alive from its mother's womb. As her eyes met those of her husband, the two fiends yelled forth a shout of mutual joy, while the lifeless babe was tossed in the air, and caught, as it descended, upon the point of a spear. Then came the *refreshment*, in the shape of rum, powder, and blood, which was quaffed by the brutes till they reeled off, with linked hands, in a wild dance around the pile of victims. As the women leaped and sang, the men applauded and encouraged. Soon the ring was broken, and with a yell each female leaped on the body of a wounded prisoner, and commenced the final sacrifice with the mockery of lascivious embraces.

"In my wanderings in African forests, I have often seen the tiger pounce upon its prey, and, with instinctive thirst, satiate its

appetite for blood, and abandon the drained corpse; but these African negresses were neither as decent nor as merciful as the beast of the wilderness. Their malignant pleasure seemed to consist in the invention of tortures that would agonize but not slay. There was a devilish spell in the tragic scene that fascinated my eyes to the spot. A slow, lingering, tormenting mutilation was practised on the living as well as on the dead, and in every instance the brutality of the women exceeded that of the men. I cannot picture the hellish joy with which they passed from body to body, digging out eyes, wrenching off lips, tearing the ears, and slicing the flesh from the quivering bones; while the queen of the harpies crept amid the butchery, gathering the brains from each skull as a *bonne bouche* for the approaching feast." (Ch. lxi. p. 382–6.)

And lastly, I will give the opinion of an anti-slavery man, who has served many years on the Coast of Africa:—"The African has never reached, in fact, until the settlement of Liberia, a higher rank than a king of Dahomey, or the inventor of the last fashionable grisgris to prevent the devil from stealing sugar-plums. No philosopher among them has caught sight of the mysteries of nature; no poet has illustrated heaven, or earth, or the life of man; no statesman has done anything to enlighten or brighten the links of human policy. In fact, if all that negroes of all generations have ever done were to be obliterated from recollection for ever, the world would lose no great truth, no profitable art, no exemplary form of life. The loss of all that is African would offer no memorable deduction from anything but the earth's black catalogue of crimes. Africa is guilty of the slavery under which she suffered; for her people made it, as well as suffered it." ('Africa, and the American Flag;' by Commander A. H. Foote, U. S. Navy, 1854, p. 207.)

Having thus given the experience of eye-witnesses on the barbarism of the negro, let us now see what some of the deepest thinkers and most profound writers have to say. An observation of Gibbon appears decisive on the subject:—"The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect either of their virtue or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites, and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plan of govern-

ment or conquest, and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone."

The historian Alison says:—"It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion but that, in the qualities requisite to create and perpetuate civilization, the African is decidedly inferior to the European race; and if any doubt could exist on this subject, it would be removed by the subsequent history and present state of the Haytian Republic." (Vol. ii. p. 251.)

Another writer, Professor Bledsoe, a distinguished American philosopher, speaking of the present state of the African, says:—"The native African could not be degraded. Of the 50,000,000 of inhabitants of the continent of Africa, it is estimated that 40,000,000 are slaves. The master has the power of life and death; and, in fact, his slaves are often fed, and killed, and eaten, just as we do with oxen and sheep in this country. Nay, the hind and fore quarters of men, women, and children, might there be seen hung on the shambles, and exposed for sale! Their women are beasts of burden; and when young, they are regarded as a delicacy by the palate of their pampered masters. A warrior will sometimes take a score of young females along with him, in order to enrich his feasts, and regale his appetite. As to his religion, it is even worse than his morals; or rather, his religion is a mass of disgusting immoralities. His notion of a God, and the obscene acts by which that notion is worshipped, are too shocking to be mentioned." ('Liberty and Slavery,' p. 293.)

This survey of the manners and customs of the natives of Africa would not be complete without allusion to the labours of Livingstone, who has added so largely to our knowledge of the interior of Africa; but his sentiments are undoubtedly traceable to the peculiarity of his early training as a missionary; and the influence of those amiable but one-sided men, to whom he had to look for support, has warped his better judgment. The following extract, however, from a review of Livingstone's Recent Expedition, in the 'Times' of the 12th January of this year, deals with the question in the proper spirit.

"This volume contains a minute estimate of the characteristics of these different people, and of their capacity for improvement, which, as might have been expected from the authors, is, in our judgment, somewhat too favourable. It may well be that a

philanthropic observer has been able to find in these races expressions of thought, and even customs which, favourably interpreted, have something in common with a pure faith and a true morality; and we may believe that the savage virtues, implicit obedience to a chief, a kind of simple devotion in conduct, a tendency to respect superiors, generosity, and enduring patience, appear among the natives of these countries. But, hitherto, experience has shown how little fitted the Africans are to rise in the scale of humanity, and this volume does not belie the conclusion. The tribes around the Zambesi and the Shire, whatever fond enthusiasm may infer, are obviously in a state of barbarism, and show hardly a sign of emerging from it. They roam over one of the gardens of the earth, having never brought it to the uses of man, or even made permanent settlements in it. They are not nations in any sense, with orders, institutions, and government, but mere flocks of aggregated families, under the absolute sway of despotic chieftains. Hardly a trace of any of the arts of life is to be seen in the rude and mean hamlets which form their transitory habitations, and their arms, their dress, and their implements of husbandry, are those of a low class of savage. Their language, with some touches of fancy, is the rude tongue of unreasoning sense; and their religion, with some possible vestiges of traditions of an ennobling kind, is a mass of strange and ignorant superstitions. Though not idolater, as it would appear, their conception of a Supreme Being is essentially that of all barbarians, an omnipotent and vindictive power, and their dull credulity never seems to wander in thought to an invisible world."

The following remarks from Mr. M. Forster, many years an M.P., are full of interest, as the practical experience of fifty years. Mr. Forster informs me that all his efforts to introduce a taste for agricultural industry have signally failed, "from the want of labour and industry in a country where men are superabundant." He also says, "I have had a great many of the native children under my care in England for their education. They learn to read and write, and acquire the other rudiments of education with great quickness and facility, and have considerable receptive, but no creative powers. It is not till they grow up that you discover their natural deficiencies.

"They are capable of attachment, and make excellent servants under strict discipline, but, left to themselves, they are heedless,

yield easily to temptation, and are regardless of future consequences; their thoughts scarcely range beyond the present hour; at least, these are my impressions, after fifty years' experience and observation of them. I long indulged sanguine hopes of native agricultural industry, but time and experience have well-nigh extinguished them.

"With respect to the religious conversion of the natives, I regret to say that little real progress has been made, notwithstanding the zealous and devoted labours of the missionaries. Within the limits of the settlements the missionaries have little difficulty in collecting nominal converts and followers, but the impression is superficial, and they fail to make their way into the country. The Christian religion, particularly in its sober Protestant form, has little to excite the imagination and feelings of a barbarous people, who fail to appreciate its sublime, religious, and moral doctrines.

"I may add that I was in Parliament, and a Member of the Committee that sat on this subject in 1842, and I have seen little reason to change the opinions I then entertained, except that my hope in the progress of native industry has since, I am sorry to say, been rather impaired than strengthened by further experience and the lapse of time.

"Speaking from my experience, I would say that they are the worst enemies of the negroes who would give them liberty without being prepared for it. The result of their sudden emancipation in the Southern States will be the extinction of the black race there, at no distant period.

"Their extinction and sufferings have already begun, and will proceed at an accelerated pace. The anti-slavery agitators will soon discover their mistake. Even in the interest of the negro, they have made a fatal blunder." (January, 1866.)

I will here introduce a few remarks on the republic of Liberia, a colony, formed on the coast of Africa for liberated slaves, with the twofold object of modifying the barbarism of the negro aborigines, and giving the freed slave an opportunity of turning his newly acquired liberty to practical account.

It is a most noteworthy fact that the idea of a colony having such objects originated with the slaveholders of the United States, and is a practical reproof to our various religious sects, which loudly proclaim the doctrine that the virtue, morality, and benevolence of all the world are centred in themselves.

In 1816 the American Colonization Society was founded. It was of Virginian birth, and was never, therefore, looked upon with favour by the Abolitionists.

The first attempt to colonize was a failure, but in 1822 formal possession was taken of a tract of land thirty-six miles long, by about two miles broad, off Cape Mesurado.

For some years the colony steadily increased, under the influence of practical philanthropy, and by the aid of missionaries and schools.

In 1837 there were no less than four societies in America alone, working out the problem of founding a home for liberated slaves and free negroes on the coast of Africa, viz. :—

The American Colonization Society.

The New York Colonization Society.

The Pennsylvania Colonization Society.

The Maryland Colonization Society.

In 1839 the various settlements were consolidated under a new constitution, one part of which was, "that no white man should become a landholder in Liberia," and that "full rights of citizenship should be enjoyed by coloured men alone." This injudicious and narrow-minded step has proved a most serious blow to the prosperity of the settlement.

In 1842, Roberts, an octoroon, was elected governor of the commonwealth of Liberia. In 1847 a declaration of independence was drawn up and proclaimed; and on the 24th August, 1847, the flag of the Republic of Liberia was displayed.

England, France, Prussia, Belgium, and Brazils have acknowledged the independence of this Republic. England presented it with a man-of-war schooner, with armament and stores complete, and English philanthropists vied with Americans in aiding the infant nation, and, among other acts, added to it by purchase the Gallinas territory.

By this acquisition, and that of the Cassa territory in May 1852, Liberia practically extended its dominions from Cape Lahou, eastward of Cape Palmas, to Sierra Leone, about 600 miles.

As regards the full usefulness which might have been expected from the colonization of a portion of Africa by a higher type of the same race, great disappointment has resulted, traceable, for the most part, to the restrictions imposed by the colonists so soon as they were allowed to declare themselves an independent republic; and in a less degree to the inherent repugnance of the

negro to till the ground. At this moment, after forty-five years' occupation, the account of land under cultivation is not worth mentioning.

President Roberts was most energetic in rooting out the white element. Thus Liberia cut the ground from under her feet, and I regret to say the prosperity of the Republic has declined from the moment of passing such unwise laws. This is only another proof of the incapability of the negro to run alone, and nothing but the presence of the mixed breeds prevents Liberia from degenerating more rapidly than it does.

The plan of colonizing a part of the coast of Africa by improved negroes is the only solution of the problem—how to utilize the Africans; and if the United States had retained Liberia as a colony, administered by a vigorous white government, it would have proved an untold benefit to the negro race, and most profitable to the United States itself.

Slavery, with the cordial consent of North and South, might have been allowed to die out, while an abundant supply of negro apprentices, under wise and just laws, might have been supplied through Liberian ports; who, after giving, at fair wages, all the aid possible, in a material shape, towards developing their masters' property, and thus, of course, increasing the prosperity of the nation, should, with all the education they were capable of grasping, and, with the fruits of their labour, have been sent back to their native land, to set an example of something better than practising fetish worship, grisgris, murder, rapine, and cannibalism, now flourishing there in the rankest luxuriance.

Perhaps the most startling commentary on this part of my subject, viz. the consideration of the negro on his own soil, will be the news brought by the Royal Mail Steamer 'Athenian,' on the 9th of January from the West Coast of Africa.

"Brass and New Calabar, Nov. 19, 1865.

"Natives of New Calabar made a raid on the Brass men, and returned on the 23rd November with 37 prisoners. On the 24th a great play was held in Calabar Town, and all the prisoners were killed and eaten. The bodies were cut up, and divided among the chiefs according to the numbers taken by each war-canoe."

"Sierra Leone, Dec. 20.

"The native wars in the neighbourhood still continue. At Mellicourie the two great native chiefs Malaghed Bailey and

Bacarry are still fighting with varied success; they have plundered and burnt many factories, the property of British subjects. Atrocities have been committed, vying with those which have recently occurred at Jamaica. All persons captured are at once sold into slavery. No business was done at Sierra Leone."

"At Bathurst a war had broken out at Badahoo, and the natives had threatened the lives of the white population at Bathurst. Messages have been sent from some of the chiefs to the effect that the town would be taken on the 25th December. His Excellency, the Governor, and the merchants, had prepared against any attempt that may be made. Business was at a standstill."

Here then we have the negro in his true colours, committing a series of atrocities, and not, be it remembered, at a small isolated spot on the great African continent, but at various places, extending over 1800 miles. On the 24th November last, we find him murdering his prisoners and devouring their dead bodies at Calabar.

At the same time our pet colony, Sierra Leone,* was witnessing atrocities similar to those perpetrated at Jamaica, while the factories of the English merchants were being burnt and plundered.

Still further north, at Bathurst, the white population were threatened with destruction on the 25th December. A most curious coincidence, to say the least of it, and traceable probably to Jamaica, when the interchange of black troops and frequent communication are taken into account.

I think I have now said sufficient to show that the negro in his own land, and under his own institutions, is little better than a brute,—in mental power a child, in ferocity a tiger, in moral degradation sunk to the lowest depths.

The kings or chiefs, invested with unbounded power, are only exaggerated types of their subjects, and therefore it is fair to infer that social slavery is the effect, not the cause, of this degraded condition.

* Settled in 1787; its chief object the suppression of the slave-trade, religious conversion, and civilization of the natives.

PART II.

IN THE NEW WORLD.

And thus having shown the condition of the negro in the land of his birth, let us now review his status in those parts to which he has been transplanted. In order to this I am here necessarily obliged to touch upon the question of slavery. Slavery, in some form or other, dates from the remotest antiquity; it flourished alike under Pagans, Jews, and Christians. It was an *institution* under the Egyptians, and was especially recognized by the Mosaic law, while, at the beginning of the Christian era, in the city of Rome as many as sixty thousand slaves were living. The serfdom of Russia is a familiar instance in our day.

The ancient custom amongst civilized people of enslaving each other must not be confounded with negro slavery; the "institutions" are widely different. In the one case, men of iron will and determination subjugated their less daring fellow-countrymen, and by their aid made great strides in the civilization of the world, when otherwise progress would have been at a comparative standstill. In the other, a decidedly inferior race was rescued from a state of barbarism scarcely human, and compelled to take a useful position; their right to continue idle spectators of the toil of their fellow-creatures being contrary alike to the laws of God and man.

Certain writers delight to attribute this subjugation to the indulgence of rapacity and force. I differ from this assumption, and take leave to express my belief, that it was rather the result of a rude instinct, well adapted to the conditions of the society in which the institutions respectively flourished.

The most casual observer will not fail to notice, that as edu-

cation gained ground in any community, so men's minds became enlarged, and they soon found out a means of progression other than enslaving their equals in race. The custom therefore fell into desuetude, until at last it collapsed in the recent abolition of serfdom in Russia, which, looking to the state of advancement in that country compared with the rest of Europe, is as striking an instance of the truth of my remarks as any I could advance.

But, surely, no one can doubt that the institution of slavery has played a very important part in the world's history, or that it has materially aided the progress and advancement of mankind; it is simply falsifying all experience to stigmatize the institution as an unmixed and monstrous evil.

When promiscuous slavery fell into disuse, negro slavery, with which we have now to deal, came into operation. To my mind, this marked a most important epoch in the history of the human race. The practice of making slaves of the negroes arose, doubtless, from two causes; the first being the fact of its prevalence among themselves from time immemorial; the second, that attention was most forcibly drawn to the aptitude of the negro for slavery by the Spanish Wilberforce of three hundred and sixty years ago: I mean, Las Casas.

The Portuguese first procured negroes chiefly from the Guinea coast. As early as 1434 young negroes had been brought to the south of Spain, and sold by one Antonio Gonzales; and thus commenced a traffic, destined in its results to advance civilization at a rate never previously anticipated, and to subdue the American continent in one-tenth the time required by Europe emerge from barbarism.

The importance of this trade being once recognized, the Spaniards eagerly joined in the traffic. They were in fact the prime movers in it.

In 1493 the New World was discovered; and as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the destruction of the aboriginal race, wherever the Spaniard planted his foot, began; the disappearance of the races was so rapid, that Las Casas, taking the kindliest interest in the Indian slaves, suggested the employment of negroes in their place. A piece of such singular inconsistency in a philanthropist could hardly be conceived, were not the same peculiarities observable in the imitators of Las Casas at the present day.

To give some idea of the rapidity with which the Aborigines disappeared, I may mention, for the benefit of anthropologists, that at the commencement of the sixteenth century, in Hayti alone, the deaths were at the rate of six thousand a year amongst the Indian slaves.

It may be interesting to state that a remarkable decrease of the Aborigines was going on when I was at the Sandwich Islands in 1850, in spite of the number of missionaries established there; and I cannot refrain from recording my experience, in connection with the disappearing of one race before another, that it is not entirely due to the vices of the stronger. A pretty long acquaintance with various savage tribes has convinced me, that though it is quite true that all men are erring, yet, in most cases, it would be difficult to import more vice than is to be found indigenous to the soil.

In 1503 the first negroes crossed the Atlantic; but Herrera, the historian, tells us, that the traffic regularly began in 1510, by order of the King of Spain. It soon became so general that every Spaniard had his negro, who proved of the greatest assistance in consolidating his master's career of conquest.

In 1530 the first insurrection of the blacks occurred in Venezuela, and Herrera says their intention was to murder every white man, while the women were to be apportioned to the rebels. A certain Captain Santiago de Lassada, however, was equal to the emergency, and, with a vigour similar to that of Governor Eyre, stamped out the revolt.

In 1562, the English Government recognized the slave-trade, when the invaluable qualities of the African, in developing new colonies, became apparent; but it was not till 1616 that negroes were imported into Virginia. From that time the traffic became general, and as regards its influence on the future destinies of nations, perhaps, the most important ever undertaken.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, the slave-trade had assumed gigantic proportions. It has been calculated that up to the time of its abolition about twenty millions of negroes had been deported from the African to the American continent,—with how startling a result must be apparent to every thinking mind.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion, which experience and history tend to prove, that, the continuous movement of such a vast body of mankind has been influenced by natural laws,

that, the negro has filled the position for which he is fitted by nature, and, that, his services were brought into use when the emergency arose necessitating his employment.

There is something grand, put it as you will, in thus converting the most barbarous and useless population on the earth's surface into active agents for good; the refuse people of the old world aiding in the subjugation of the new,—and all this in less than three hundred years.

At present every habitable part of the New World is divided amongst recognized owners; there is therefore no opening for any enterprising emigrants to snatch from nature large tracts of land; consequently the necessity of perpetuating slavery as constituted at present no longer exists, otherwise the eloquence of any number of negrophilists would have been powerless to destroy the institution.

The Bill introduced into our Parliament for the total abolition of the slave-trade, on and after the 1st January, 1808, received the royal assent on the 25th March, 1807, twenty years after Wilberforce first drew attention to the miseries endured by the negroes on shipboard. But as a still further proof how gradually these movements come about, and that they are rather the effect of natural laws than the result of any particular genius or philanthropy in man, I may mention that the negrophilists of that day do not seem to have considered it a duty to put an end to slavery itself, which, according to common sense, would have been the best process of destroying what they are now pleased to call such a monstrous, unchristian, vile, and indelible stain.

So gradual was the development of feeling on this subject, that the trade was not declared felony until 1811; nor piracy, punishable by death, until 1824; moreover, it is notorious that although the slave-trade even now can hardly be said to have ceased, yet there is on record only a single instance of capital punishment having been inflicted. This proves that the subject was not one of general interest to the public; in fact it has only been kept alive by a certain set of agitators, for the sake of political capital; and very cheaply have they obtained their notoriety, for I know of none of the acknowledged heads of the party who have made themselves practically acquainted with the subject, either on the coast of Africa or the West Indies. If any of them had, like Howard, gone through danger and hardship in the cause, their opinions would have been entitled to respect; but

as such is not the ease, it is to be hoped that the day is approaching when the shallowness of sueh popularity-mongers will be thoroughly appreeiated by the rest of their eountrymen.

In 1833 Lord Stanley, then Colonial Seeretary, carried a Bill to abolish slavery throughout the British possessions, and thereupon slavery eeased to exist.

Other nations followed our example in putting an end to the slave-trade; but we eannot lay elaim to originality in the matter. Ten years before our Bill was passed, when the Spanish-Ameriean colonies deelared their independence, slavery was abolished, and, in the ease of Chili and Peru in partieular, in a manner we should have done well to imitate.

At the present moment, Negro slavery is confined to the Spanish and Brazilian possessions. As regards the former, it is announeed that the liberation of the slaves will soon take place. It appears that the first tears have been shed in Spain for the negro; while Brazil will doubtless follow the example, although, of all eountries, she ean least afford to be sentimental, and I do not hesitate to say that the abolition of slavery amongst the present generation of blaeks would be full of danger to that empire.

Having thus sketched the course of slavery down to our own time, let us look at the present eondition of those who lived under this peculiar institution, after being for nearly a generation in a state of absolute freedom. Although the geographieal range of negro slavery has been eonsiderable, I shall show that the negro has not changed his charaeteristies, whether located under the eold of a northern climate, or the heat of the tropies; and, moreover, that while in slavery he was incomparably better off than he is as a freed man.

Slavery has flourished in Spanish America, the United States, and the West Indies; but of all eountries, England has derived the most benefit from it. The slave-trade may emphatieally be said to have laid the foundation of our eommereial greatness; our cotton aristoeraeies have been raised upon it; while to it Liverpool and Manehester mainly owe their prosperity.

Never has it fallen to the lot of any savages to enjoy so many opportunities of elevating and improving themselves as the negro. I shall not refer for proof of this to his long eonneetion with ancient eivilization, but establish the fact by strietly modern instances.

Firstly, we have the case of the free blacks, in the Northern States of America. There they have been settled many years amongst a superior race, greatly exceeding them in numbers, with no other check on their freedom than a feeling that they are in a minority; they are surrounded by educated and industrious people, and have every encouragement to perseverance, both by precept and example.

Secondly, we have before us a case of another nature in Hayti. Here the black man, left to his own devices, is absolute as on African soil, without the slightest foreign influence to affect him in any way. Indeed, a white face is as rarely seen in Hayti as a black in London, for the law denying citizenship on any terms to the white man is strictly enforced. In short, the negro does just as he likes, subject to no external control, good or bad.

Thirdly, we have to consider his position in the Spanish-American Republics, and in our own possessions in the West Indies, especially in the island of Jamaica. Here in particular his freedom has been secured quite as much as in Hayti; not only that, but he has been incorporated in the body politic on terms of equality with the white man, and as the preponderance of race is in the ratio of nearly forty to one in his favour, no stretch of the imagination can suppose him overshadowed or held in check. In short, the British negro is a citizen in every sense of the word,—on terms of the most perfect equality with the white race, enjoying every privilege which falls to the lot of any other British subject.

In the three cases referred to above, I think we have examples of every phase in which the negro could be placed, so as to test conclusively his power of profiting by the lessons of civilization. But I shall show that he has not been able to engraft himself on a superior civilization, as in the United States; that he has not been able to perpetuate the civilization left to him unconditionally, as at Hayti; and, that he has not been able to acquire a civilization, in spite of the preponderating numbers of his race and a variety of favourable circumstances, as at Jamaica.

Let us first look at some facts in relation to the effect of freedom on the negro. Official returns of the census in the United States are especially valuable in this respect, as showing, from experience, what may be expected in the future, with regard to the millions of slaves lately emancipated; for no one will deny that the negroes freed before the war have had a better

chance of engrafting upon themselves some portion of the civilization around them, than their brethren will have, who are just now so suddenly set free.

The census of the United States for 1840, tells us—

1st. That the number of deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, of the negroes, in the non-slaveholding States, is 1 out of every 96; in the slaveholding States, it is 1 out of every 672; or 7 to 1 in favour of the slaves in this respect, as compared with the free blacks.

2nd. That the number of whites, deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, in the non-slaveholding States, is 1 in every 561; being nearly 6 to 1 against the free blacks, in the same States.

3rd. That the number of negroes, who are deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, paupers, and in prison, in the non-slaveholding States, *is* 1 *out of every* 6; and in the slaveholding States, 1 out of every 154; or 22 to 1 against the free blacks, as compared with the slaves.

4th. That taking the two extremes of north and south:—in Maine, the number of negroes returned as deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiots, by the census of 1840, *is* 1 *out of every* 12; and in slaveholding Florida, by the same returns, *is* 1 *of every* 1105; or 92 to 1 in favour of the slaves of Florida, as compared with the free blacks of Maine.

This evidence shows the inferiority of the negro, when removed from control, not only to the white man, but even to his fellows in slavery, and should convince negrophilists that their efforts to elevate the negro will ever fail so long as they act upon the unsound theory of equality of races.

The author of 'The Cotton Trade,' Mr. George McHenry, page 258, says:—

"The writer of these pages was born, and has resided nearly all his life, in Pennsylvania, where exists the largest community of free negroes in the world, and he can testify to the gradual decay in their health and morals, as slavery disappeared from the neighbourhood. Neither the laws of the land, nor public societies for his benefit, prevent the African from degenerating.

"Nothing but the controlling influence of a master will keep him from sinking to that barbarous condition which is his natural state. Notwithstanding the attentions and care bestowed upon them by the Quakers, the negroes congregate in certain districts of Philadelphia, live in hovels, and behave in the most disreputable manner."

I must now say a few words with regard to Hayti, where the negro has long enjoyed his freedom. Hayti, or "the land of mountains," was discovered by Columbus in 1492. The island is 390 miles long, by about 100 broad, and contains about nineteen millions of acres, being nearly as large as Ireland. The first European settlement in the New World was commenced on its shores (at Cape Francis) on Christmas Day, 1492.

From an estimated population of one million at that time, the Aborigines were reduced to 60,000 in 1507. In 1508 the first impulse to agriculture was given by the introduction of the sugar-cane by Pedro d'Atenza. In 1511 only 14,000 Indians survived. In 1660 the French obtained a footing on the island, and for thirty years had great difficulty to maintain themselves against the Spaniards, but at the peace of Ryswik Spain ceded the western half to France.

For the next hundred years the French possessions prospered wonderfully, and in 1790 the population amounted to 27,717 whites, 21,800 free men of colour, and 495,528 slaves; total, 555,825 inhabitants under the French flag. On the Spanish side matters had not progressed so favourably, and the population never attained to one-half that of the French.

From the receipt of the news of the French Revolution this prosperity began to decline. A scene of anarchy ensued, such as the world had not seen before. The white republicans of France fought against the white colonists, the black man against his brother, and the mulatto against both.

No wonder that the 50,000 white and coloured men, fighting frantically among themselves, fell an easy prey to the 500,000 slaves. The very *vis inertiæ* of the negroes was sufficient to secure this end, and it is the greatest mistake to attribute their success to heroism, ability, or even soldierly qualities. The fact is, that rapine and murder were the order of the day, just as it is now on the coast of Africa; and by mere force of numbers, the blacks exterminated the whites, so soon as the latter began to quarrel amongst themselves. I will pass over the atrocities of St. Domingo in 1791, with the remark of the historian Alison, that "the cruelties exercised there exceed anything recorded in history. The negroes marched with spiked infants on their spears instead of colours. They sawed asunder their male prisoners, and violated the females on the dead bodies of their husbands." (Vol. ii. p. 240.)

From the time (November, 1803) the whites were driven into the sea the island has been the prey to the most frightful anarchy and confusion, folly and brutality, only paralleled, in fact, by its own antecedents, and in the perpetration of which both French and Spanish negroes, on their respective sides of the island, vied with each other in performing such "fantastic tricks"

"Before high heaven, as make the angels weep."

On the eastern or Spanish side trade and commerce have long ceased to exist; and the ennobling attributes which characterize the negro after sixty years of freedom, has just been exemplified by the sale of his country to the Spanish government, and the revolution which soon after drove the so-called invaders from the country.

With regard to the French negroes, they have tried their hand at Kings, Emperors, and Presidents,—again an Emperor and now another President,—while at one time the French half itself was divided, one section being a kingdom, the other a republic. Revolution has followed revolution in rapid succession. But to bring home to the mind the rapid decadence of the island under the black *régime*, I may instance the state of property in the island under the whites, and its present condition.

In 1789, the French portion of the island contained 793 sugar plantations, 3117 coffee plantations, 789 cotton plantations, and 182 establishments for making rum, besides other minor factories and workshops. At the present time not a tenth part remains, and such cultivation as there is hardly deserves the name; coffee, which requires little or no labour in cultivating, is now almost the sole article of export.

In 1790 the exports were 151,481 tons of produce.

In 1820, the exports had fallen to 16,365 tons!

In short, if it were not for the mulattoes still on the island, all commerce would have long since ceased, and the few remaining plots of reclaimed land become a forest once more. The ruin of Hayti is simply a question of time, as the strict enforcement of the law which declares, "no white man, whatever be his nationality, shall be permitted to land on the Haytian territory with the title of master or proprietor, nor shall he be able in future to acquire there either real estate or the rights of a Haytian," must sooner or later remove every trace of the only element which now keeps its population a degree removed from barbarism.

Even between 1860 and 1865 I have noticed the rapid degeneracy; and as soon as the influence of the present civilization expires, so soon will beautiful and fertile Hayti become of no more use to the world than it was before its discovery by Columbus. The aspect of civilization as it now exists there is so ludicrous, that I should often have laughed outright at the antics of the natives, had not the graver feeling of sorrow at seeing such valuable resources so completely thrown away, checked all thoughts of mirth.

To give some idea of the soldiers, I commend to your notice the sketch which I sent from Jacmel last January; it appeared in the 'Illustrated London News,' March 11, 1865.

It will be unnecessary to accumulate proofs of the degradation of the Haytian; late events in connection with the loss of H.M.S. 'Bulldog,' in October last, at Cape Haytien, prove what a pandemonium exists on the island. I shall therefore only quote from a couple of eye-witnesses,—the most impartial, I believe, whom I could select out of numerous authorities, viz. Mr. Walsh, and Lord Eustace Cecil.

Robert M. Walsh, Esq., of Pennsylvania, a commissioner from the United States to Hayti, wrote as follows to Mr. Webster, while Secretary of State:—

"I trust you will pardon me, if I sometimes wander from the serious tone appropriate to a despatch; but it is difficult to preserve one's gravity with so absurd a caricature of civilization before one's eyes, as is here exhibited in every shape.

"Nothing saves these people from being infinitely ridiculous, but the circumstance of their being often supremely disgusting, by their fearful atrocities. The change from a ludicrous farce to a bloody tragedy, is here as frequent as it is terrible; and the smiles which the former irresistibly provoke, can only be repressed by the sickening sensations occasioned by the latter.

"It is a conviction which has been forced upon me by what I have learned here, that negroes only cease to be children when they degenerate into savages. As long as they happen to be in a genial mood, it is the rattle and the straw by which they are tickled and pleased; and when their passions are once aroused, the most potent weapons of subjugation can alone prevent the most horrible evils.

"A residence here, however brief, must cause the most determined philanthropist to entertain serious doubts of the

possibility of their ever attaining the full stature of intellectual and civilized manhood, unless some miraculous interposition is vouchsafed in their behalf.

"In proportion as the recollections and traditions of the old colonial civilizations are fading away, and the imitative propensity, which is so strong a characteristic of the African, is losing its opportunities of exercise, the black inhabitants of Hayti are reverting to the primitive state from which they were elevated by contact with the whites,—a race whose innate superiority would seem to be abundantly proved, by the mere fact, that it is approaching the goal of mental progress, while the other has scarcely made a step in advance of the position in which it was originally placed.

"It is among the mulattoes alone, as a general rule, that intelligence and education are to be found; but they are neither sufficiently numerous, nor virtuous, nor enlightened, to do more than diminish the rapidity of the nation's descent, and every day accelerates the inevitable consequence, by lessening their influence and strength.

"In short, the combination of evil and destructive elements is such, that the ultimate regeneration of the Haytians seems to me to be the wildest of Utopian dreams. Dismal as this picture may appear, its colouring is not exaggerated. It is as faithful a representation as I can sketch of the general aspect of this miserable country,—a country where God has done everything to make his creature happy, and where the creature is doing everything to mar the work of God."

Lord Eustace Cecil, in his article on Hayti, tells us that "the history of few countries presents such an interminable series of revolutions, usurpations, and anarchy, as that of Hayti, in the short period that it has existed as an independent nation."

Speaking of the negroes, he adds:—

"Providence has indeed tempered the wind to the shorn lamb by giving them few wants, fruitful soil, and a government which allows those not drawn by the conscription, unrestricted permission 'to do nothing.' What more could even a discontented negro wish for? So long as he can lie quietly in the sun, side by side with his pig on a dungheap, his earthly paradise is attained.

"Take off the general's cocked-hat and epaulets, give him a hoe, and set him to work in a plantation, and the Maroon negro is perceptible at once. Tear away the lace and gilding, and you

have the grinning savage. Whet his appetite with a little blood, and Haytian history tells us that he will kill, mutilate, and torture in a fashion that would be worthy of his African ancestors. Dessalines and Christophe excelled even Nero and Domitian in wholesale cruelty."

According to Lord Eustace, the state of finance is verging on bankruptcy. The Haytian greenback, once worth 4*s.* 2*d.*, being now worth only $2\frac{3}{4}d.$, thanks to the black party, headed by the "Emperor Soulouque," "Dukes of Marmalade," and "Counts of Petits Pois."

Lord Eustace concludes his article in the following terms:—

"What more favourable circumstances could the abolitionist wish for to prove his theory of the black man's capacity for self-government? And what as yet has been the result of the experiment? Put political considerations entirely aside, and let us merely consider whether the material interests or individual self-improvement of the nation at large, have in the slightest degree progressed. A moment's reflection will convince us to the contrary."

"Slowly and surely will the conviction gain ground, the truth of which has more than once forced itself on men's minds, that moderate subordination to the white man is essential to the happiness of the negro, if he is to become a useful and industrious member of the society in which he lives." ('Impressions of Life at Home and Abroad,' pp. 19 to 75, 1864.)

With regard to the negro population of the Spanish American republics, I am able to speak from a lengthened experience, having spent many years in those countries, in close contact with the people, on the coast as a naval officer, and in the interior as a traveller; and perhaps I shall startle ethnologists when I assert that no true Creole negro any longer exists between Cape Horn and the Mexican empire, although his vices are fully represented by his mixed descendants.

The outward parent characteristics have been more or less obliterated by admixture with the Latin and other races living in those parts of the great American continent at the time freedom was conferred upon the slaves.

In South America,—Chili and Buenos Ayres, for example,—a native negro is unknown. In Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador the race is largely intermixed with Indian blood (although still bearing the strongly-marked features of the negro), and enjoying an unenviable notoriety as robbers and murderers.

At Lima, Captain Lambert, R.N., was robbed and murdered by these people; Mr. Sulivan, our minister, lost his life; and the late Admiral Sir Henry Bruce, when Commander-in-chief in the Pacific, was stopped in uniform, close to the city, and robbed by a gigantic black native. He was accompanied by his daughter and flag-lieutenant; unfortunately, both himself and the latter were unarmed. However, it may as well be mentioned that their assailant did not long enjoy the impunity offered to crime by the Government of his country, for, making a similar attempt soon after, he was killed on the spot by his intended victim, an Irishman, who happened to have an axe in his hand, unseen by the ruffian.

I mention these incidents, out of numberless cases, to show the reckless depravity which the present race have inherited with their blood, and which is in such marked contrast to the peaceable and orderly conduct of the Indian population surrounding them.

In Central America, at New Granada, the Mosquito coast, and British Honduras, the negroes approach much nearer to the pure type than can be found in South America, as their numbers are being constantly recruited from the West Indian Islands, either for mahogany-cutting or transit purposes. With regard to the negro of Panama, I can only say that a more turbulent, vicious, insolent, and lazy miscreant does not exist on the face of the earth.

In Costa Rica and Nicaragua I have seen but one native negro, and only a few instances of people with perceptible African blood in their veins. The same is the case in San Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, except on the Atlantic coast of the two latter Republics, where, owing to the migrations from the West India islands, alluded to before, the stock has been more or less preserved.

The Spanish-American colonists have held the negro in slavery from the time of Columbus to within the last forty years, and therefore a lengthened experience of his character will not be denied to them. Their feeling on this matter will be best understood by the facts of their unanimous rejection of the late President Lincoln's attempt to introduce freed negroes as settlers on their territory; and subsequently (and I mention this to show how deliberate and confirmed is the feeling) by the attempt to insert in a concession for a transit across Central

America, between the Atlantic and Pacific, which I have just obtained from Congress, a clause to the following effect, viz. that no negro could become a citizen of the Republic, nor hold real estate on any pretence whatever. Such a clause, however sensible in some respects, would have had an injurious effect upon *my* enterprise in more ways than one, and therefore, after considerable discussion, it was erased; but the incident serves to show the sentiments of a republican Congress, with regard to the worth of the negro as a citizen, and is valuable as proving the unanimity of practical men, of whatever nationality, on this subject.

We have now to consider the condition of the negro in the West Indies. These islands offer a wide range for comparison, and ample means for proving that the negro, in his small way, is more civilized, and altogether better, where a controlling influence is exercised—at Barbadoes for example; yet I shall take it for granted that this is well understood by all who do not wilfully shut their eyes to the truth.

It will be sufficient therefore, for my present purpose, to describe that negro elysium, the island of Jamaica, in order to show that the negro is a negro still, theories to the contrary notwithstanding.

Jamaica, or the "Land of Streams," is nearly 150 miles in length, by an average of 40 in breadth, and contains 2,750,000 acres of land. The country is beautifully picturesque, and the view from some of the hills compares favourably, in my opinion, with the lovely Vega of Granada, as seen from the Alhambra. The eastern end of the island is mountainous, and in many places thickly covered with forest. The western is more level, and here the only railroad has been built (1845),—the Kingston and Spanish Town.

Jamaica was settled by the Spaniards in 1510, and remained in their possession about one hundred and fifty years. On its capture, 3rd May, 1655, by Admiral Penn and General Venables, there were only 1500 Spaniards and Portuguese and the same number of negroes and mulattoes on the island; not a trace of the Aborigines could be found. I commend this fact to the negrophilists, who declaim about the atrocities of the "*Aboriginal Maroons*," little thinking that they are talking of a race identical with that which they have petted into insurrection.

The Maroons, whose name is a corruption of the Spanish

Cimarones—wild men, are simply runaway slaves from Cuba and Jamaica itself: negroes, in point of fact, neither more nor less; settled on land assigned to them in 1738.

The case of these Maroons is another instance of how little the possession of mere freedom can affect the civilization of a savage people. They have been free since the English took possession of the island, and what is now their condition? Have they in any one sense become useful members of the community? Every one knows they have not. They roam, half naked, in the woods, and make their women do every sort of drudgery.

The Constitution of Jamaica is modelled upon that of the mother-country. The Queen is represented by the Governor; the House of Lords, by a Council of Twelve appointed by the Sovereign; the House of Commons, by an Assembly, consisting of forty-five members—two for each of the twenty-one parishes, and one for each of the three towns, Spanish Town, Kingston, and Port Royal.

The franchise is based on a £6 freehold, and is therefore open to every one. All appointments are made without reference to colour. The whites and blacks are governed by the same laws.

So much has been written about the Jamaica negro, both for and against him, up to the period of emancipation in 1833, and the sudden termination of the apprenticeship system in 1838, that it will be needless to give any detailed description prior to that period.

I will merely remark, that in early days the prosperity of Jamaica, in a purely commercial sense, was considerable; and to give an idea of the capacity of the island for agriculture alone, I may mention that, besides a large annual amount of other produce, in 1797, 7,869,138 lbs. of ginger was exported; in 1805, 150,352 hogsheads of sugar; in 1814, 34,045,585 lbs. of coffee; in 1832, 19,815,010 lbs. pimento.

At the present time sugar has fallen off to 30,000 hogsheads; coffee, to 8,000,000 lbs.; pimento the same; while of ginger only 650,000 lbs. have been raised.

For the last thirty years the attention of the general public has been but little attracted to Jamaica affairs; the insurrection in 1832 brought the island into as much notice at that time, as the present one has now; but during the intervening thirty-four years the negrophilists have had it all to themselves, and every opportunity has been afforded them of proving practically

the soundness or otherwise of the views, they have so loudly proclaimed, viz. that the absolute liberty, and the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of British subjects, by the negro, would prove his equality with the white man, beyond question or cavil.

Nowhere could a better field have offered itself to try the experiment, than in Jamaica, the most important possession of the British Crown in the West Indies, with ample territory, a fertile soil, and a large population. Let us examine the result.

And first I would say a few words in reference to my personal experience at Jamaica.

The most striking peculiarity is the abandoned profligacy of the coloured races. Port Royal and Kingston, in this respect, are sinks of iniquity. Religion struck me as being at a very low ebb everywhere. I remember in 1860 that the bishop was compelled to reject the entire class assembled for confirmation at Manchioneal. The native Baptist revivals and prayer-meetings, if they had not excited in me a feeling of deep sorrow at the depravity and hypocrisy which marked the proceedings, would have been simply ludicrous, the screaming and chattering being more characteristic of a meeting of monkeys than like an assemblage of men and women, and I am not surprised at the evident anxiety of the leading Baptists in this country to disclaim any spiritual connection with their black pupils in Jamaica. In short, the unchecked depravity of the negro crops out on every side, details of which would be quite unfit for publication, and which must be seen to be believed.

Of the sloth of the negro there is unfortunately but too abundant evidence, in the desolation of whole districts containing the richest lands, and in abandoned estates with their costly works in ruins, and not a sign of human industry as far as the eye can reach; but if that is not considered proof sufficient, the condition of the poor women will illustrate better than anything else the injurious effect of unlimited freedom on men utterly unfit to appreciate its value. All the hard labour in the fields falls upon the women, and a sketch sent by me to the 'Illustrated London News,' November 25, 1865, page 512, 'Coaling a Royal Mail Steam Packet at Kingston, Jamaica,' will show that the custom is not confined to the plantations, but extends to the hardest kind of labour in the towns, and points out more clearly than any words of mine the degraded position of the negress and the disgraceful sloth of her lord and master. I commend

this sketch to the notice of the would-be friends of the black race at Jamaica.

Dr. Underhill has put himself forward as an authority on this subject, and has thought proper to suggest what ought to be done, it will therefore be the best plan to examine how far his opinions are correct.

In 1859–60, Dr. Underhill and the Rev. Mr. Brown visited Jamaica as a deputation from the Baptist Missionary Society. Their tour was a wonderful instance of Anglo-Saxon energy and perseverance, taking the heat of the climate into consideration. During four months they travelled all over the island, holding about eighty meetings.

Now as the negroes were fully informed of Dr. Underhill's expected appearance, they attended each meeting in great numbers, dressed in their best, and many of the men well-mounted. Those who arranged this programme could as safely count upon a great concourse of excitable negroes, who would naturally flock to see the Baptist minister from England, as their brethren in England could count upon filling Exeter Hall by the sensational placard announcing eight miles of dead bodies in Jamaica. In fact, during Dr. Underhill's stay, it was quite a series of sight-seeing for the negroes; and that all things appeared *couleur de rose* to him, is proved by the following estimate of their wealth in his 'West Indies,' p. 421:—

	£.	s.	d.
65,000 houses of furniture at £16 . .	1,040,000	0	0
354,575 acres of land at 30*s*.	531,862	10	0
Clothes for 65,000 families at £4 each .	260,000	0	0
Stock on freeholds at £3 each family .	195,000	0	0
5000 sugar-mills at £10 each	50,000	0	0
Funds in savings-banks	49,399	0	0
Grand total .	£2,126,261	10	0

Such an estimate could no doubt be made by the most conscientious man, after seeing crowds of well-mounted negroes and well-dressed negresses, collected every day to hear and see him, and boasting, as is their wont, of the amount each one possessed in lands and money; but the estimate is as deceptive as the appearances upon which it is based.

I have never seen a negro hut worth £16, in any part of the island. Generally it is of the very rudest description. Again,

land at 30*s.* per acre! why, half that amount would be considered by many a proprietor a perfect godsend for the purchase of his estate.*

The clothes, no doubt, average £4 per family; for finery in dress is a passion with the negro, and both men and women make it their first consideration to appear on high-days and holidays in gorgeous apparel.

Stock I should divide by half, and then it would be above the average. As to the sugar-mills, they are of the rudest description, mere presses, and would not yield an average of £2 each.

The amount in the savings-banks, I doubt; for negroes, as a rule, do not adopt the system; but supposing Dr. Underhill's estimate to be correct, how can the theory of the late deep distress and crime arising from poverty, with such a large fund to draw upon, be sustained? The truth is, that such amounts as were deposited increased rather than diminished, during the drought. How then can he say, "All accounts, both public and private, concur in affirming the alarming increase of crime, chiefly of larceny and petty theft. *This arises from the extreme poverty of the people*"?

Besides, it must be remembered, that while Dr. Underhill met with nothing but flattery from the negroes, and while the

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* "5, *Lime Street Square, London, E.C., Dec. 26th*, 1865.

"Sir,—It has occurred to me that as none of the wealthy members of the Anti-Slavery Society (Mr. Alexander, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Gurney, and others) own an acre of land in Jamaica, or have one shilling depending on the prosperity of the island, they might like to take a more practical interest in its welfare, and make an investment in the soil by purchasing the estate of which I send you a plan. It consists, you will observe, of more than 1000 acres of land, which are situated close to the sea; it is well watered, has sugar-works, and a very fair house on it. For this property, together with nearly 100 head of stock on it, I am willing to take £2500. There are a great many small negro freeholders residing in the immediate neighbourhood, and altogether I should think it would be an admirable locality for the practical development of the Anti-Slavery Society's philanthropic views. I may add that the title I can give is unexceptionable, it having been bought some time ago under the provisions of the Encumbered Estates Act. May I ask you to return me the plan should none of the gentlemen connected with the Society be inclined to entertain my proposition?

"I am, etc.,

"(Signed) W. B. Watson.

"*L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.*"

dark side of their character was carefully kept from view, he probably had no opportunity of hearing the other side of the question, by mixing with the higher classes. It so happens, that I was at Jamaica while Dr. Underhill was there, and I am sorry to say that many excellent friends of mine, most liberal-minded men in other respects, were prejudiced enough to inform me, that they cordially agreed with Mr. Anthony Trollope in "hating Baptists like poison," and would as soon think of admitting them to social intercourse as of allowing their black servants to sit at table with them; because they constantly opened the old sore, and revived the antagonism of the races on every occasion. The opinion has been expressed to me a hundred times, that, what with the Assembly and the Baptists,* the island was doomed.

The deduction I draw from what has now been said is, that the negro in a state of freedom continues powerless to advance himself in civilization, and that he is most improvable when under moderate control. It is no longer expedient to make a slave of him; he has performed his part in the world's history in that capacity; and even as he superseded a weaker system of labour, the slavery of the ancients, so Watt and Stephenson have surely and for ever emancipated him by the introduction of an agency more powerful still.

He has no right, however, and civilized man has no right to allow him, to pass his existence without in any way contributing to the advancement of mankind.

I believe that a system of hiring labour for five years from the coast of Africa, would not only be advantageous to the employers, but would be a boon to the labourer himself, and would, in due course, humanize his fellow-countrymen at home; it

* This dislike and distrust of the Baptists is not sectarian, because other religious sects are loved and admired by the whites. "The Moravians sent out a mission to the West Indies in 1732, and in 1787 they had ministers in Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, as well as in Surinam and the Danish Islands. These humble and zealous men, with the very limited means at their command, have been deservedly successful; the simplicity of their manners, and the equal simplicity of the tenets they inculcated, being eminently fitted to impress the hearts of an uncivilized people with feelings of kindness and brotherly love, without exciting those *frightful horrors*, the primary object of their Baptist successors, and which, grafted on African superstition, cannot fail, sooner or later, to produce lamentable results." ('Slavery in the West Indies.')

should be made compulsory, perhaps, at the expiration of the term, to return the negro to the place he had left. In every other respect the business should be conducted on the broadest principles of free-trade. This plan is nothing new; it answers well with the Krumen on the coast, and the Seedeys of India; indeed, at present, the available supply exceeds the demand.

I make bold to say that 50,000,000 of blacks have not been placed on this magnificent globe of ours for no purpose; it is therefore our duty, by wise legislation, to utilize this large mass of human beings. They must be dealt with from no sentimental standpoint, but from a knowledge of their nature and characteristics, discarding at once the theory of equality. We do not admit equality even amongst our own race, as is proved by the state of the franchise at this hour in England! and to suppose that two alien races can compose a political unity is simply ridiculous. One section *must* govern the other.

I cannot see any hardship to the negro in deferring the claims of the negrophilists for equality on the part of their idol, until he has done what every man amongst us is obliged to do, viz. *prove his title* before he is admitted into fellowship.

In concluding, I would remark, that what I have said on this vexed question is the practical conviction of twenty-five years' experience of the negro in all parts of the world. I have commanded negroes in Her Majesty's Service. I have had negroes in my private employment, in a country where I had but to lift my finger to have them punished as I liked; and I have controlled them where the law was in their own hands. From negroes I have exacted hard labour, such as would be thought considerable anywhere; but *not* at the expense of affecting equality with them. It has been entirely by an opposite course that I have succeeded in making eminently useful and warmly attached to me, many individuals of a race which, I believe, by a like course, and it only, can be trained to obedience and industry, and thus become useful members of society.

At this point Captain Pim paused, and observed that the remaining portion of his paper referred exclusively to the recent insurrection of negroes in Jamaica, and he asked the President

to take the sense of the meeting whether he should proceed with it or not.

The PRESIDENT observed that the paper had been referred—as was customary with papers read before their Society—to referees, to determine whether it was suitable to be read, and they had reported that portions of it were not strictly anthropological. The Council had carefully considered the subject, but were divided in opinion, and under those circumstances it had been decided to leave it to the meeting to determine whether they wished to hear the remarks of Captain Pim on the subject of the insurrection in Jamaica. He would therefore take a show of hands on the question. (On a show of hands, it was found that, with the exception of *one* person, the meeting was unanimous that the rest of the paper should be read.)

PART III.

JAMAICA.

I now come to the consideration of some of the facts in connection with the late insurrection at Jamaica. The story is so familiar that it is not necessary to go much into details. I shall merely, therefore, touch upon those points which seem to me to require some explanation, and which have been so much misunderstood by those who, when urging upon the Government the suspension of Governor Eyre, added their pious hope that it would be "by the neck."

And first, with respect to Governor Eyre's despatch; for that document contains the clue to all the subsequent outcry. His Excellency does not hesitate to attribute the blame to Dr. Underhill and the Baptists. Whether he is right or not, one thing is certain, that this charge has caused the present excitement on the subject; for it is clear that the colonists themselves, who ought to be the best judges, admire the energy and vigour with which Governor Eyre acted, and approve the measures he took, as the following recent testimony from Jamaica will show:—

The 'Colonial Standard' says:—"The intelligence by this mail is well calculated to excite the surprise and sorrow, and to arouse the deepest apprehensions of the colonists. Yielding to the ferocious clamours of the anti-slavery party in England, her Majesty's ministers have thought fit to supersede Mr. Eyre, and to place him before the Jamaica rebels in the humiliating position of a suspected criminal awaiting trial. It is useless to disguise the fact, that this proceeding will have a very dangerous effect on the minds of the disaffected people of this island. Already the people have imbibed the notion that the Governor is to be tried and hanged for murder, especially the murder of George

William Gordon; and those who know the negro character will understand that it will be impossible hereafter to make them believe the contrary. Mr. Eyre is virtually in disgrace by the very nature of the position in which he is placed, and so far, at all events, he is punished already through a prejudgment of his case by parties who start off, in their demands for justice against him, by asserting that he punished the rebels without a fair trial.

"Every one knows that we have been determined opponents of Mr. Eyre's administration, and that we have over and over urged his recall on the British Government. We opposed him, however, on correct principles. He did not, in our opinion, by his acts exhibit the peculiar qualities necessary in the ruler of a free country. Under any other circumstances we could rejoice at his removal, as a triumph to the opinions we have always conscientiously advocated; but common gratitude for the sincere and efficient manner in which he put down the rebellion, and sympathy against the injustice which is done to him in return, no less than a deep apprehension of the probable effect of the proceeding on the minds of beings, so well known to us as the negroes, force us to denounce the treatment he has received as unwarranted by justice or prudence.

"The appointment of Sir Henry, as it will be seen, virtually supersedes our present highly popular and beloved commander of the forces, Major-General O'Connor, C.B., *ad interim* it may be; but such a circumstance will, we are certain, find no favour in the country among any class of persons. It is felt by all that Major-General O'Connor, instead of the slight which he experiences from her Majesty's Government in deference to the enemies of this island, ought to have, on the contrary, received the highest approbation of the sovereign, to which his late services in this island have pre-eminently entitled him.

"Exeter Hall having carried the day, it is hardly of any use to waste words in disputing against the vile calumnies which the votaries of the faith preached there have heaped upon the upper classes and the authorities of this country. Every man of judgment will take assertions coming from such a quarter for what they are worth. We must make allowance for human infirmities, and we cannot expect that whilst even sincere philanthropists are never able to see more than one side of any subject, the negro-maniacs of Exeter Hall would be free from the same fault. Müller found people to doubt his guilt, and no commission,

no proof, will ever convince the maniacs in question that the negro can be wrong, or the white man right. But the British people are about to be brought face to face with the negro through the investigations about to take place, and a spirit of inquiry has been aroused in England and elsewhere, which will surely lead to such knowledge as will enable a true estimate of the negro character to be formed. Both the planter and the negro may then hope for justice from a better-informed public opinion in reference to them than previously existed. We shall simply confine ourselves to noticing certain matters that have come out since the sailing of the last packet."

I have now to make a few remarks on Dr. Underhill's notorious letter. But I shall only refer to the part where these words occur: "I shall say nothing of the course taken by the Jamaica Legislature," (and then consistently enough) "of their *abortive* immigration bills, of their *unjust* taxation of the *coloured population*, of their refusal of *just* tribunals, of their *denial of political rights* to the *emancipated negroes*."

Such words are harmless enough when uttered in this country; but their effect is very different upon excitable negroes, strong in a preponderance of forty to one over the whites.

It has been said, why publish such a firebrand? This question is easily answered. It was the safest course, taking measures at the same time for the public safety. Had no notice been taken of the letter, the Baptist missionaries would doubtless have published it themselves, and possibly in an aggravated form. We have a case in point in the manifesto sent to the Maories the other day by the "Aborigines Protection Society," which New Zealand colonists, who certainly ought to understand the natives, declare has been the means of prolonging the war, with a cost of many valuable lives to both sides.

The next point to which I would draw attention is the fact that the insurrection which took place at Morant Bay, on the 11th, had been brewing in that vicinity since the 7th, and was not therefore the outburst of a sudden indignant appeal for justice. The proofs are abundant; and when to this is added, as the Governor tells us, that he had been compelled some months prior to the outbreak to send vessels of war to various parts of the island to overawe disaffection, it is quite clear that the occurrences we so much deplore at Morant Bay can be designated by no other name than rebellion. Nobody on the island

doubted, and no one at home on calm reflection can doubt, that the Governor had to deal with a rebellion as serious as its three predecessors, and not a mere riot. Paul Bogle regularly marshalled his forces, administering a fearful oath to his followers and to the police, sent to make certain arrests, but whom he made prisoners as early as the 9th October. On the 11th, *before* proceeding to the Court House, the police station was sacked, and the arms secured; and finally, the rebels *commenced* the attack themselves, the volunteers with wonderful forbearance desisting from firing until it became a question of life and death. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the outbreak was the premature commencement of a rebellion, and that the slightest hesitation on the part of the Governor would have been a fatal mistake.

The proclamation of martial law became an absolute necessity: no sane man would have dreamt of hesitating: and it was not proclaimed a minute too soon. The clamour, therefore, which has arisen can only result from ignorance of martial law and the inevitable results, viz. the horrors of war intensified by civil commotion, which the insurgents clearly brought on themselves; I have had some little experience in these matters, and I will endeavour to explain in what manner martial law and courts martial are understood by naval and military men.

I observe that my countrymen generally confound martial law with courts martial; but there cannot be a greater mistake. The latter is the law applied to the trial of naval and military men who voluntarily make themselves amenable to it, by the act of joining the respective services. It is written law based on the Articles of War and the Mutiny Acts, and also on "the custom of the service," to use the technical term.

Martial law, on the contrary, is, in fact, the absence of law. The Duke of Wellington's definition is clear, and like everything that has emanated from that great man, to the purpose.

"Martial law," he says, "is neither more nor less than the will of the general who commands the army: in fact, martial law means no law at all; therefore the general who declares martial law, and commands that it should be carried into execution, is bound to lay down the rules, regulations, and limits, according to which his will is to be carried out."

There is no doubt that Government has the power of proclaiming martial law, to meet an attack against law and order.

Much stress has been laid on the *lengthened* continuance of martial law at Jamaica, but it must be borne in mind that the whites were out-numbered forty to one, and that a long time was required to *ensure* the safety of the country, because the mountains, forests, and impassable rivers afforded shelter to the rebels, who could, while the slightest organization remained, at any time renew their attempt at rebellion, as in 1760.

As a case in point, and one which has been strangely overlooked, the following proclamation of Paul Bogle's was found, dated the day *after* the Governor considered the insurrection at an end. For that is the interpretation put upon his despatch; but His Excellency evidently meant, crushed out in the districts *under his eye;* and he no doubt felt the keenest anxiety to prevent its making head in the woods by the severe and necessary measures he adopted.

Subjoined is a copy of the document found by Lieut. Oxley :—

"Morant Bay, Oct. 17.

"Mr. Graham and other Gentlemen,—It is time for us to help ourselves skin for skin. The iron bar is now broken in this parish. The white people send a proclamation to the Governor to make war against us, which we all must put our shoulder to the wheels and pull together. The Maroons sent the proclamation to meet them at Hayfield at once without delay—that they will put us in the way how to act. Every one of you must leave your house—take your guns; who don't have guns, take cutlasses. Down at once! Come over to Stony Gut, that we might march over to meet the Maroons at once without delay. Blow your shells! roule your drums! house to house; take out every man; march them down to Stony Gut; any that you find, take them in the way; take them down with their arms; war is at my black skin; war is at hand from to-day till to-morrow. Every black man must turn out at once, for the oppression is too great. The white people are now cleaning up their guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too. Cheer, men! Cheer in heart; we looking for you a part of the night or before day-break.—We are, yours truly,

"(Signed) Paul Bogle, J. G. M'Laren,
B. Clarke, P. Cameron.

"Get a bearer to send us an answer to this, for they determine

to make us slaves again. When you do come to Stony Gut or Hayfield, blow your shells, and tell what place you in from before entered. "E. K. Bailey."

I may mention another fact not generally known, that a few hours' delay in appealing to the Maroons, and inducing them to join the white men, would have resulted in their going over in a body to the rebels, who were only too anxious to obtain their co-operation, as this proclamation shows. Moreover, to show how insecure was the peace of the island when the Governor wrote his despatch, and, therefore, how necessary it was to continue martial law, a plot was discovered on the 17th, to seize the town (Morant). The instigator, E. K. Bailey, a black man, one of Her Majesty's volunteers, a sergeant of St. Thomas's-in-the-East Company, wrote to Paul Bogle on the 17th, telling him that only a few blue-jackets were left, and that it could be easily taken.

A strong force started for Morant Bay on the 18th, at two A.M., for Stony Gut, to attack the place; but Bogle and his men had left, and the place was entirely abandoned. Bogle's proclamation, however, was found, dated the day before (17th) by Lieut. C. L. Oxley, H.M.S. Wolverine.

Another point on which I shall no doubt be expected to say a few words, is the trial and execution of G. W. Gordon.

Governor Eyre was compelled to arrest this man, not merely from the conviction forced on his own mind that he was deeply implicated as the prime mover of the revolt, but from the unanimous opinion of his guilt; and when his Excellency returned to Kingston from Morant Bay, his surprise was great that G. W. Gordon had not already been arrested; but as soon as he saw, by the admission of those around him, General O'Connor, Dr. Bowerbank, and others, that it had been put off from fear of an outbreak at Kingston, the Governor gave another proof of his courage and determination, by ordering the arrest to be made at once.

That the Kingston authorities had good ground for their apprehensions, is proved by the fact that the troopers had to draw pistols while surrounding the carriage containing the prisoner, driven as fast as possible, so as not to allow a population—insolent and lawless as any in the world—time to organize a rescue.

The removal of Mr. Gordon from Kingston to St. Thomas's-in-the-East, was in strict accordance with the laws of the land; and, moreover, General O'Connor expressly says that he had not a soldier to preserve the peace, and which could not have been maintained had the trial taken place at Kingston; and it is hard to see what other step the Governor could have taken under the circumstance. The unanimity of all classes, black and white, in pointing to Mr. Gordon as the real instigator of the rebellion, is, to say the least of it, most telling against him.

And now with respect to the court-martial by which he was tried. I may mention that of the two courts sitting for the trial of prisoners, one composed of three militia officers, the other of two naval officers and an ensign in the army, the latter was selected; first, because it was composed of officers of higher rank; and secondly, because the impartiality of its members could be relied on; officers of the island militia, of course knowing Mr. Gordon well, and holding strong opinions against him.

Various remarks have been made about midshipmen and boys trying prisoners. I will just remark, *en passant*, that a commander in the navy ranks with a lieutenant-colonel in the army; a lieutenant, eight years, with a major; a junior lieutenant, with a captain in the army; so that the trial took place before officers of sufficiently high rank; and as regards their youth, I may state that the average age was twenty-eight.

I am sure that the officers of the court were most solemnly impressed with their responsibility; and that had there been a shadow of a doubt as to his guilt, Gordon would not have been executed; he was listened to patiently in defence for *two hours*, and courts martial, as I can personally testify, are not usually famous for spinning out trials.

In respect to Mr. Gordon himself, I will say very few words. There is, of course, a strong and proper feeling amongst gentlemen against unveiling the errors and delinquencies of a man who has gone to account before another Tribunal, but I may remark that the letter of Mr. Gordon to Mr. Chamerovzow, which that gentleman read at Exeter Hall, roundly abusing Mr. Eyre in sufficiently coarse terms, and asserting that he obtained a piano with his ill-gotten wealth, and the following extracts from his speeches in the Assembly, will give some idea of the lengths to which this Baptist demagogue could go in exciting his ignorant hearers, and the falsehoods he was capable of uttering.

A few passages will suffice. "*Per se,*" as the hon. member for St. Catherine said, "the people would be quite right to break out into open rebellion. If an illegality is permitted in the Governor, an illegality may be permitted on the part of the people. . . . I have never seen an animal more voracious for cruelty and power than the present Governor of Jamaica. . . . If we are to be governed by such a Governor much longer, the people will have to fly to arms and become self-governing."

At the trial, Mr. Gordon, in cross-questioning a witness, uses these words, "Are you aware that I have been corresponding with Paul Bogle for years?" and again, in his defence, distinctly states, that "Paul Bogle is certainly my political friend." Yet in his letter to his wife, written, it is said, one hour before his execution, he distinctly asserts, "I knew nothing of the man Bogle." There are only two ways of accounting for this inconsistency: either a pious fraud has been perpetrated in the publication of that letter, or instead of being a type of the martyr St. Stephen, Mr. Gordon ought, perhaps, to be classed with men like Müller. There are, however, instances in history where letters of a similar character *have* been written just before execution. He had thirty-six hours at least for preparation, and was not therefore hurried to execution, as will be seen by reference to the date of sentence, delivered in the presence of the prisoner, on Saturday, October 21, the evening of the day of trial:—

"The Court, having heard the prisoner's defence, also the witness he called in his defence, consider the charges proved most fully, and do therefore adjudge the prisoner, George William Gordon, to be hung by the neck until he be dead, at what time and place the Brigadier-General may direct.

"H. Brand, President, Lieutenant, Royal Navy.

"Morant Bay, Oct. 21, 1865."

"Approved and confirmed.

"Moreover, I fully concur in the sentence awarded, such being fully borne out by the evidence.

"The prisoner to be hung on Monday next, the 23rd of October, 1865; to-morrow, the 22nd, being Sunday, *and the state of this part of the country* not rendering it necessary to inflict the punishment on the Sabbath-day.

"A. A. Nelson, Brigadier-General,

"Commanding Field Forces.

"Morant Bay, Oct. 21, 1865, 8 p.m."

Great stress has been laid on the conduct of the officers engaged in quelling the rebellion : this arises from the inability of people at home to understand the excitement of men engaged in peculiarly hazardous and trying service. Groping about the bush after armed rebels, requires more nerve than to go through a pitched battle; but people at home cannot realize this, and because no lives were lost, think the service child's play. A mere handful of whites amongst thousands of disaffected blacks, is not child's play.

I will take the case of Colonel Hobbs, for example.

Colonel Hobbs, of the 6th Royals, an enthusiastic soldier, and a man of sterling piety, a living example of an officer and a Christian, has been pronounced "a ruffian;" the privates of his regiment, and the experience of his officers, alike testify that he is incapable of an unkind or hasty word, or ungenerous action; and that such summary justice as he inflicted, resulted from the desperate nature of the situation. The case of "Paul Bogle's valet" has been extensively used against this much-maligned officer, under the impression that the valet was a mere lad of tender age, who denounced everybody, in mortal terror of his own life: the truth is, he was a married man with two children. The term 'boy' is a common expression in the West Indies for even old men.

So far from carrying out his duty in a bloodthirsty spirit, Colonel Hobbs actually prayed with the culprits himself when the services of a minister of religion could not be procured.

I have now only to say a few words in relation to the part the Government at home has taken in this matter.

Governor Eyre will be the greatest sufferer; on his devoted head will descend all the wrath of Exeter Hall and its followers; and although he will doubtless come out of the furnace unscathed in reputation, yet the anxiety and trouble he is now enduring must make him an old man before his time. Little did he think, when the news of Lord Palmerston's death reached Jamaica, that he, of all men, would soon have bitter cause to regret the loss of a statesman who never turned his back on a loyal and dutiful public servant.

To the thinking Englishman and true lover of his country, a lesson has been taught of no small import,—by a withdrawal of the curtain which usually shuts out from public view the weaknesses, follies, and vacillations of official routine.

In the conduct of Jamaica affairs we have laid ourselves open to the sneers of both Europeans and Americans, and no one can foresee what mischief may accrue to us from the exhibition lately witnessed in high quarters.

In reply to Governor Eyre's report, a despatch is sent approving his conduct, but before that approval reaches its destination, orders are forwarded to suspend him. Deputations wait on Ministers, and scenes of "rowdyism," to say the least of it, are permitted, such as would not be tolerated in the weakest republic.

If walls have ears, how they must have tingled at the brow-beating and coarse wit inflicted on a Cabinet Minister, especially if the said walls could remember the scene in the same place, so graphically described in the 'Morning Star' in the following words:—"In the early part of 1830, as we have heard the story, a deputation of Reformers waited upon the Duke of Wellington. They came to represent to him the imperative necessity of some move on the part of the Ministry to satisfy the public demand. Unless this be done, 'we cannot,' said the spokesman, 'answer for the preservation of peace.' 'And pray, Sir,' said the grim old soldier, 'who asked you to answer for it? We,' he added, with a grimly significant smile, 'can answer for it ourselves.' The astonished deputation were for abandoning the conference thus sharply interrupted. As they were moving to the door, silent and angered, the Duke recalled them. 'Gentlemen,' he said—and perhaps they expected some conciliatory observation—'you have your heads on your shoulders now—have the wisdom to keep them there.'"

The day is, perhaps, gone by for a similar display of vigour on the part of Ministers; but surely the people of this mighty nation, foremost in the world, have a right to expect dignity and self-respect in their chiefs, and consistency in their Government, even if that Government has not the ability to understand how hazardous it is to vacillate with savages, and what a death-blow it is to that confidence in Governmental support which should animate naval, military, and civil chiefs, serving their country in responsible positions abroad.

There have been no less than *four* serious and *ten* minor insurrections in Jamaica in about a hundred years; one in 1760, another in 1795, the third in 1832, and the most memorable in October last. To show that they all have a similar com-

plexion, I subjoin the following account of a negro rising in Jamaica 105 years ago, and which will be read with interest at the present juncture. It is extracted from Smollett's history:—

"While the British commanders exerted themselves by sea and land with the most laudable spirit of vigilance and courage against the foreign adversaries of their country, the colonists of Jamaica ran the most imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domestic enemy. The negro slaves of that island, grown insolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by observing the supine indolence of their masters, or stimulated by that appetite for liberty so natural to the mind of man, began, in the course of the year, to entertain thoughts of shaking off the yoke by means of a general insurrection. Assemblies were held, and plans resolved for this purpose. At length they concerted a scheme for rising in arms all at once in different parts of the island, in order to massacre all the white men, and take possession of the Government. They agreed that this design should be put into execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe, but their plan was defeated by their ignorance and impatience. Those of the conspirators that belonged to Captain Forest's estate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell suddenly upon the overseer while he sat at supper with some friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by some of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the same barbarities, and seizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony. The Governor no sooner received intimation of this disturbance, than he, by proclamation, subjected the colonists to martial law. All other business was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the troop of Militia, and a considerable number of volunteers, marched from Spanish Town to St. Mary's, where the insurrection began, and skirmished with the insurgents; but, as they declined standing any regular engagement, and trusted chiefly to bush fighting, the Governor employed against them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the wild negroes, now peaceably settled under the protection of the Government. These auxiliaries, in consideration of a price set upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, slew them by surprise until their strength was broken, and numbers made away with themselves in despair, so

that the insurrection was supposed to be quelled about the beginning of May, but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very considerable number. The regular troops and the Militia formed a camp, under the command of Colonel Spragge, who sent out detachments against the negroes, a great number of whom were killed and some taken, but the rest, instead of submitting, took shelter in the woods and mountains. The prisoners, being tried and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and some fixed alive upon gibbets.

"The expense of putting down this rebellion was £100,000.

"The revolt of the Maroons in 1795 was not finally extinguished until 1796.

"That of 1832 (exclusive of the value of property destroyed, viz. £1,154,583) cost £161,596, and Parliament was compelled to grant a loan of £500,000 to assist the almost ruined planters. About two hundred were killed in the field, and about five hundred executed."*

At present, £25,000 will cover the outlay of Governor Eyre; but it will be hard to count the cost in blood and treasure, if his Excellency's suspension gives the rebels heart of grace to break out again as they did in 1760.

When we reflect that Jamaica, with a fine climate and a soil sufficiently rich and fertile to sustain with ease three millions of inhabitants, is yet dependent upon imports of provisions for the support of its population, scarcely numbering half a million, the slightest reflection will convince the most confirmed negrophilist, that the day has arrived when legislation, with regard to the labouring population, can be no longer delayed. The negro *must* be made to work; he has been, I am sorry to say, encouraged to look upon liberty as licence, and thirty years of such teaching has vastly prejudiced his advance in civilization, and at the same time ruined his country.

It is my deliberate opinion, 1st, that the widespread discontent amongst the negroes had its birth in the granting unlimited freedom and equality to them before they were taught to understand the responsibilities attached to such privileges.

2nd, that the imagination of the negroes has been inflamed by

* Martin's 'Statistics of the British Colonies.'

the sojourn amongst them of the Haytian* refugees—a black emperor, dukes, counts, generals, and colonels, who kept up quite an excitement by the expenditure of their ill-gotten wealth,—naturally making each negro aspire to similar honours.

And, lastly, that this feeling was, however unwittingly, fomented and increased by those persons who, instead of teaching peace and goodwill towards men; encouraging industry; and inculcating obedience to law and morality, excited by inflammatory harangues this most excitable people.

The crisis that has arisen, will, it is to be hoped, induce us to go to the very bottom of this black question, and institute a careful scrutiny into the merits of the case.

All practical men are united in the belief that the first step to remedy those evils under which Jamaica groans, is the abolition of the Assembly and constituting the island a Crown Colony. After this primary step, I would suggest that certain laws should be enacted, with special reference to the blacks,—a Vagrant Act, for example,—the sole punishment, banishment.

If the negro is idle and debauched, he should be sent out of the country; those who are disposed to work should be hired by contract, for a given term; breach of contract on either side severely punishable; no penitentiary or prisons as a premium to negro sloth, but the one punishment—banishment.

I may be asked, how about the cost? I reply, it would be considerably under the present expense of supporting vice in prison. Hayti, which is within sight of Jamaica, should be selected as the locality for the future residence of those negroes to whom the new regulations in Jamaica might prove distasteful.

* The people of Jamaica have a dreadful warning before them in the fate of Hayti. Compare the proceedings of *les Amis des Noirs*, "the friends of the blacks" of 1788, with those of the professional philanthropists of the present day, and say in what they differ. Is the danger of propagating theories of liberty and equality, less because it is done under the cloak of religion? I will not enter on a recital of the horrid massacres to which the mania of the pretended philanthropists of that age gave birth, and which were only such as may with certainty be expected when ignorant savages are instigated to insurrection, and are able to overwhelm those in authority over them. But the very sight of that fine island in its present state, is sufficient to overpower the mind with the most melancholy reflections. And to think that by the interference of persons who have never seen Jamaica, and have no knowledge of the sum of human happiness they are endangering, it may soon become as desolate as Hayti, is most painful to contemplate.

The laws of Hayti exclude the whites from any rights whatever, but the country is open to a black man, who becomes a citizen at once; and I have no doubt that the Jamaica blacks leaving their country for their country's good, at a cost of 5*s.* per head, would be received with open arms by their Haytian brethren. At all events, it is not too much to exact this small return from Hayti. Some well-considered plan of firmly governing the blacks must be *at once* adopted, or the whites will shortly, in self-preservation, be compelled to abandon Jamaica.

I expect the latter alternative, because the principles on which alien and dissimilar races ought to be governed, is not yet understood by our rulers.

Jamaica is not the only proof of this: the state of St. Vincent, Antigua, New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope, to say nothing of India, attests that "how to govern alien races" has yet to be learnt.

Let us take the negro as we find him, as God designed him, not a white man, nor the equal of a white man. "That he can exist in a community of Anglo-Saxons on terms of political and social equality, is both physically and morally impossible."*

It is astounding to hear those who have never been out of their own country, vehemently laying down the law, in opposition to men who have spent great part of their time in obtaining knowledge and experience in official, professional, or commercial life in the colonies.

That popular periodical, 'Fun,' has lately given an analysis of those gentlemen who have undertaken to legislate for Jamaica,—a China merchant, a dissenting minister, a blind man, a street preacher, and an amiable brewer,—but even such a combination as this will fail.

Who, then, will discover the true art of governing alien races? I answer, the statesman, who makes anthropological science his study, and the basis of his efforts for improving the condition of mankind.

* "The White Republican" of 'Fraser's Magazine,' [the editor of the 'Cosmopolitan.']

The PRESIDENT then proposed that the thanks of the meeting be given to Captain Pim for his paper, which proposition was carried unanimously, and with loud cheers. He said it had been left to him, as President of the Society, to decide whether the latter part of the paper should be read, and he thought it best to submit the question to the meeting. They had decided that it should be, and had expressed their satisfaction with the paper altogether. Every one must now be anxious for a full and fair discussion; but he desired to remind those who intended to speak, that it should be done with temper and fairness, and that the Society were only anxious to arrive at the truth. He begged to introduce a gentleman who had resided in Jamaica for the last thirty years, and he called on him to address the meeting in the first instance.

Mr. ARIA rose and said :—I appear before you, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, with great diffidence, being a perfect stranger, but feel somewhat reassured in speaking on Jamaica matters, from my long residence there, and intimate acquaintance with most of the victims of the Morant Bay massacre, as well as from experience of the affairs of the colony, gained during my residence there of thirty years. You will permit me to preface my remarks by observing, that during that long period I never mixed in the local politics of the place, and hence claim to be an impartial witness of their effect on the people at large. At the meetings organized in Kingston, respecting the slave-trade off the coast of Cuba, I took part in the proceedings, and in 1864 I was the bearer of a memorial, signed for the meeting by his Lordship the Bishop of Kingston, to the Parliament, and that memorial was presented to the House of Lords by the venerable Lord Brougham. I preface my remarks with this statement, to show that I have endeavoured, with others, to promote measures tending to benefit the blacks, and I claim to stand before you to speak of them without the slightest prejudice of colour.

The island of Jamaica is about 160 miles long, by 40 to 50 miles broad, and is divided into three counties, subdivided into parishes, each presided over by a Custos Rotulorum—an officer somewhat similar in position to the lords-lieutenant of English counties. When Dr. Underhill's letter was sent to Governor Eyre, he naturally referred it to the custodes and magistrates of the several districts, and reported to the Colonial Office the result of their information. In a similar way, during the pas year, the Governor obtained advices that there was great disaf-

fection amongst the negroes. In the month of August, at the requisition of Mr. Custos Salmon, two gunboats were sent to Montego Bay to keep the ill-disposed in check. All this was duly reported to the Colonial Office. Let us now see what the Ministry here did in consequence. Why, they took no notice whatever of the Governor's reports; and although fully aware of the dangerous position of the handful of whites in the colony, nothing was done to strengthen the garrison; on the contrary, the white troops were gradually withdrawn, and the occasional visit of a gunboat was the only naval force under orders of the Commodore at Port Royal.

Now you have heard every person connected with Jamaica complain bitterly of the House of Assembly, and of its influence for evil amongst the negroes. One of the chief causes may be cited in the character of its debates, and the incendiary language indulged in by men like Gordon. You will find in the 'Times' of to-day, several extracts from a letter of the Rev. J. Radcliffe (the highly respected and accomplished Presbyterian minister of Kingston) in proof of this; the style of alluding to the relative relation of the 360,000 blacks, 60,000 coloured, and 12,000 whites, and the threats of rebellion, and of driving the latter into the sea, were indulged in, in presence of a mob of negroes—spectators at the bar of the House. In Jamaica, the public have free admission to these debates, and I remember being present when one of these inflammatory speeches was loudly cheered by the mob, to whom, in fact, it was addressed. Harangues of this kind to Fenians or Chartists, or if adopted here by your Brights, Underhills, Chamerovzows, etc., fall harmless in the face of the majesty of the law and the force of public opinion; the Executive has ever at command the means of crushing any *émeute*. But, my friends, consider the difference in Jamaica: the Government there had not a half-regiment of regular troops, nor a single ship of war, to use at the emergency; hence, you may judge of the need for the greatest promptitude and energy, to quell the revolt and to prevent it spreading in the other parishes; hence the necessity for martial law, and the strongest measures of repression.

People in Jamaica, assuredly the best judges of the gravity of the situation, cannot comprehend why the great English people allow themselves to be led by a small section, hailing from Exeter Hall, who, for party purposes, have published garbled statements, and have attacked the Governor and authorities in the foulest language. Is this the fair play to be expected of Englishmen? Doubtless the opinions expressed by Messrs. Buxton, Potter, Bright, Underhill, and others, are entitled to consideration; are we not to expect the like of the statements and opinions of the men on the spot,—Admiral Hope, Sir Leopold M'Clintock, Colonel

Whitfield, and many other distinguished men? Mr. Buxton, in a letter to the 'Standard,' on the 27th ult., says:—"No doubt Governor Eyre deserves credit for the promptitude with which he suppressed the insurrection; in such an 'emergency' people sitting at ease at home must not criticize matters too closely," etc.

Now, I complain that Mr. Buxton will not act in the spirit of this paragraph, and maintain a reticent course pending the report of the Commission; but, on the contrary, endeavours to mislead the public with misstatements, and condemns the military authorities, of whose proceedings he is by no means a competent judge. Mr. Buxton disclaims all connection with the violent anti-slavery negrophilists; but he does more mischief in asserting "the Governor had two regiments of regular troops, the Buffs from Barbadoes, and a battalion of black troops came from Nassau." He knew quite well these were sent for after the outbreak, and that none arrived in Jamaica until it was quelled. He also speaks of the insurrection being confined to a single spot, at the east end of the island; full well knowing that the revolt spread immediately from Morant Bay, on the east, to Annotto Bay, on the north, a circumference of over forty miles.

With relation to G. W. Gordon, it appears to be the feeling of every person of respectability and position in the island, that his speeches and proclamations were the prime cause of the fearful events we have to deplore. What right had he to tell the negroes the Governor was a bad man, the magistrates unjust and tyrannical; that the planters employed Coolies to their prejudice, and paid them double wages, whilst they—the negroes—starved; that they ought to have £12 each given to them, and that they should do as in Hayti (where the blacks and coloured united to destroy the whites, and ultimately the coloured met the same fate)? Such harangues as this, to thousands and thousands of half-civilized, idle negroes, was laying the train which a spark would ignite; do you wonder, then, the blacks, confident in their numbers, took the law in their hands, burnt the Court of Justice, and murdered the magistrates? and do you wonder that the people of Jamaica point out Gordon as the arch-agitator, the cause of all this frightful mischief?

Much has been said in some of the public press about Gordon being a man of large property, and an inference drawn that he could have no motive to agitate against the upper classes in the colony. Now, the fact is, although Gordon had much land, it was never paid for: large judgments are recorded against him, and in November his property was levied on, to satisfy claims of English creditors. He was in the habit of drawing cheques on the Jamaica Bank without having funds there. I have had these dishonoured drafts, and had to instruct clients not

to take them. I believe, at the Manchester meeting, one enthusiastic gentleman claimed Gordon (who never was absent from Jamaica) as a *protégé*, educated there. I wonder, if so, whether he learned this sort of mercantile morality in the Manchester school. Gordon was always considered a troublesome man by his own class. In the House of Assembly a law was passed, limiting the right of each member to speak to twenty minutes, for the purpose of checking his incessant speeches; in 1863, he took a leading part in the so-called religious revivals, and, having quitted the Church of England, opened a Baptist tabernacle on his own account, and under his own regulations. At this period he closed his place of business in Kingston for three days, and posted outside a placard:—"I, G. W. Gordon, in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, intend fasting for the sins of the land for three days." People thought he was crazy; the poor negroes became wild with religious frenzy; Ministers of the Established Church, Presbyterians, Moravians, Wesleyans, and others, in vain endeavoured to guide or check these excesses. The orgies and blasphemy at most of these chapel-meetings, like that at Paul Bogle's place after the massacre at Morant Bay, were frightful in the extreme. The negroes kept holiday from six to eight weeks at Christmas, neglecting even their provision grounds; and when the severe drought set in afterwards, numbers of them suffered severely. You can imagine, from all this, the character of Gordon's influence over the people, and the great dread of its ultimate power for evil, felt by all classes of the whites and coloured people.

I have received many letters from various parts of the island, all expressing the greatest indignation at the treatment Governor Eyre has received at the hands of the Ministry here. All persons of respectable position and property concur in expressing the deepest gratitude to Mr. Eyre and the authorities for the able and decided measures they adopted; there is not a shadow of doubt, that if the Governor had hesitated to do his duty for forty-eight hours, the whole island would have been in insurrection; admitting, for argument's sake, there was no organized plan for the revolt, its effect amongst the 360,000 negroes, if successful at Morant Bay, would have been to combine them all to "drive the whites into the sea," as threatened in the House of Assembly. The Governor, in conformity with the whole tenor of his history and antecedents, nobly, ably, and zealously crushed the rebellion; and all who, like myself, have relatives and property in the island, feel that we are indebted to him, under God's providence, for the preservation of both. We think the action of Earl Russell, in degrading Governor Eyre for his noble conduct in the execution of his duty, will leave an eternal stain on the fair fame of that nobleman.

We expect the people of England will nevertheless render justice, imperatively demanded in this matter, and, in Mr. Charles Buxton's words, criticize calmly the proceedings of the colonial authorities at an emergency like this, which no man can appreciate or realize fully, unless present at the time. We think, if there is to be sympathy for Gordon and for a mob of negroes, banded together to murder and pillage, still more is to be extended to the families of the victims of this tragedy. My Jamaica friends say, at your meetings and in the newspapers before-named, we find much said on behalf of Gordon, but not one word about his victims,—the Baron Kettelholdt, Hire, Price, Hitchings, Cooke, Alberga, and others. They can scarcely believe that any portion of the public press of England to be so influenced by the ranting orators of Exeter Hall. It is just the feeling, Mr. Chairman, that causes us to be so unpopular with the great body of the American people. The constant interference in the institutions of other nations, which this party pursues, gains us an evil report amongst them.

I have heard many Americans attribute the late war, and much of their troubles, to the agitation originating here,—whether rightly or not, I am not prepared to say; but I record what I have frequently heard: "Why don't your anti-slavery people look after your white slaves at home?" say the Americans. "Why not educate your ignorant masses, and alleviate the frightful amount of misery and distress to be seen daily in London, instead of directing their energies in interfering with us and others, thousands of miles from the shores of England?"

In like manner have the people in Jamaica to complain of the course pursued there by the anti-slavery people. The history of the blacks in Hayti shows they are incapable of self-government, and the necessity that exists for their being under the guidance of a strong executive. I believe, as a Crown colony, with a firm administration, the blacks in Jamaica may yet be materially advanced in the scale of civilization: they are a race easily led for good or for evil. Remove the pernicious influences which have caused the latter, and a better state of things will soon be apparent. If the 10,000 whites are to remain in the colony, surrounded by 360,000 blacks, the former must be placed in a position of security, by a strong Government, and by the proper application of the laws of industry and labour, which naturally regulate all well-managed communities.

I fear, Mr. Chairman, I have trespassed too long on your time, and I will now conclude my remarks, thanking you and the meeting for the honour awarded me in permitting me to address my countrymen on this occasion.

Mr. Hugh R. Semper said:—Sir, feeling the deepest interest in the question under discussion this evening, in consequence of possessing an intimate acquaintance with most of the West Indian Colonies, having for years taken part in the legislation of more than one island, and having discharged the duties of a magistrate, and still having the honour to hold the Commission of the Peace, I trust I may be pardoned for venturing to address so large and distinguished an audience on a subject that so vitally concerns the West Indies.

In doing this, I feel that my first duty is to thank Captain Pim for the able, comprehensive, and truly eloquent lecture, which he has addressed to us this evening. It evidences not only great research, acute powers of observation, and marked ability; but also proves that its author is possessed of that moral vigour, that chivalrous spirit and fearless determination which counts no odds when defending the cause of truth and justice, and which Englishmen, above all things, so much admire, and so thoroughly appreciate.

In touching upon that part of the question which relates to the character of the negro, I have only to add that, though utterly unfitted for self-government, or, as a class, for possessing extensive electoral privileges, my experience, gathered in various capacities, as a proprietor, as a magistrate, and as an officer of the Colonial Protective Force, compels me to say that they often display many good and excellent qualities. They are capable of strong and earnest attachment to their superiors, and I honestly believe that if it were not for the pernicious influence so fatally exercised upon them by unscrupulous demagogues, by well-intentioned, but rash and enthusiastic philanthropists, but, above all, by those who, with diabolical hypocrisy, use religion as a cloak to carry out their levelling principles—to sow those seeds of hatred and disunion which produce bitter fruit, and so often lead to those terrible colonial tragedies, such as that recently enacted at Morant Bay,—I say, Sir, that I honestly believe that if it were not for all this and that if the negro were not encouraged in vice, indolence, and outrage, peace, order, and harmony would prevail; and the black man, as he exists in the West Indies, would develop into a good, and even an industrious citizen, capable of attaining comfort and happiness for himself, and contributing largely to the prosperity of the land, in which he enjoys a thousand blessings, and far greater political freedom and higher privileges than are enjoyed by any labouring class in Europe.

Despite the assertions that are made by men more ready to traduce than to substantiate their charges, I can fearlessly challenge them to produce a single statute that gives evidence of one-sided or class legislation. I can fearlessly challenge them to

prove either that the blacks are oppressed, and the courts of justice closed against them, or that the minds of the judges are warped by improper class prejudices. In addition to the public hospitals, lunatic asylums, the poor-rates, the public schools, which each colony possesses, many of them have a staff of district medical officers, whose duty is to supply, gratuitously, medicine and medical attendance to the labouring population. Large grants are also constantly being made to enable the health officers to improve the sanitary condition of the negro villages in the different colonies. To do all these things, which are for the exclusive benefits of the "oppressed blacks," the white men,—who, it is said, are the legislators,—voluntarily impose heavy taxes upon their landed property, and upon the exported product of that property.

Not many years ago, the island of St. Kitt's was afflicted with that terrible scourge, cholera, which swept off a fourth of the black population. The disease was almost entirely confined to the blacks, and yet the local government did not for a moment hesitate as to the course it should adopt. Numerous hospitals were established, every medical man was employed, a large staff of house-to-house visitors were retained, and relief in every shape was extended to the unfortunate sufferers. The result was, that the island had to expend the large sum of fifty thousand dollars; and as its ordinary resources became exhausted, a special tax had to be levied to meet the deficiency. This tax, I need hardly add, for the most part fell upon the properties of those whose kindness and humanity were not restrained because negroes were its recipients.

That there has been suffering among the labouring classes in Jamaica, is unquestionable; but to whom, or to what, I ask, is this suffering attributable? Certainly not to the planter. It is in the first place the result of two severe seasons of drought, and of the low price of sugar. The negroes having refused (notwithstanding the heavy premiums that were offered) to enter into a contract of service with the planters, the latter have in many instances been driven to introduce foreign labour at a heavy cost to themselves. These contract labourers the planters are compelled to keep in employment during the severest seasons, as long as the contract exists; the negroes would have enjoyed a similar protection if they had chosen to enter into an agreement, neither more nor less stringent in its terms than those that are so constantly made in the agricultural districts in this country. Surely there exists no moral or legal reason why the planter should be called upon to incur considerable loss by giving employment to labourers whom he does not require, simply because distress prevails.

Let me ask, did Mr. Bright and other mill-owners continue

to employ their operatives when the high price of cotton rendered the continued employment of such operatives unprofitable?

It was well said, Sir, of Robespierre, by a celebrated French author, that he certainly appeared to love liberty, for he not only took care to enjoy his own, but he sought to possess that of others also. In the present case, the reckless accusers of the colonists, not only demand a full share of freedom for the blacks, but seek "*per fas et nefas*" to deprive the whites of every vestige of it.

I am aware that amongst the persons who have raised their voice against Governor Eyre, and those who acted under his authority, there are many men whose generosity of purpose and nobleness of character we all admire; and I can only therefore deplore that under false impressions, created by grossly exaggerated accounts of the extent of retributive punishment, they should have fallen into fellowship with a party who seek to mislead the public mind of this country by such infamous statements as "eight miles of dead," "thousands killed," and other utterly false accounts regarding Gordon's trial, put forward by renegade reporters and such-like.

Before taking my seat, I must earnestly crave your indulgence and the indulgence of my audience for a few moments longer, while I say a few words on Gordon's trial. It would be impossible, Sir, on an occasion like this, to notice the many theories that have been started, or the many terrible threats that have been so menacingly uttered. I will therefore only allude to the opinion recently given to the Jamaica committee by two eminent lawyers, Mr. Fitzjames Stephen and Mr. James, the Attorney-general of the Duchy of Lancaster. These gentlemen tell us that the Governor of Jamaica had only the common law right, which the Crown possesses in this country, to repel force by force, even to the destruction of life and property; but deny his right to appoint courts-martial to sit in judgment, except while there was active resistance to the law. In this country, the Crown, as late as the time of Charles I., exercised the prerogative of creating courts, under what was termed the "law martial." This exercise of the prerogative has been finally destroyed in England by the Bill of Rights; and before martial law could, in consequence of internal disturbance, be proclaimed here, both Houses must join in suspending the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act. The 96th sect. 9th Vict. c. 30, expressly authorizes, by the "opinion and advice of a council of war, the proclamation of martial law, limiting, however, the period of its existence to *thirty* days, unless expressly continued by the advice of a council of war as aforesaid." The succeeding declaration also authorizes the Governor, with such advice as aforesaid, to limit the operation of martial law to particular districts.

I contend that this special prerogative of proclaiming martial

law and of constituting courts-martial in times of disturbance, still exists in Jamaica, apart from any preceding legislative action. "It is absurd," says Lord Mansfield, in the celebrated case of *Campbell* v. *Hall*, "to suppose that in the colonies they should carry all the laws of England with them; they carry only such as are applicable to their situation. I remember it has been determined in the Council; there was a question whether the Statute of Charitable Uses operated on the island of Nevis; it was determined it did not; and no laws, except such as were applicable to their condition, unless expressly enacted." It is clear that this peculiar privilege of personal liberty was not considered applicable to the condition of a young colony, or a necessary incident of colonization; for I find in Second 'Chalmers' Opinions,' p. 69, an eminent lawyer, the Solicitor-General of George II., thus advising the Crown respecting an Act passed by one of the Colonial Legislatures:—"This law likewise enacts that all laws in force in England relating to personal liberty and to property, shall be in force in those islands, which I conceive to be very improper." Acting on this opinion, the Crown disallowed the Bill. I have searched in vain, Sir, through the statute book of Jamaica for any evidence to show that legislation has deprived the Crown of this special prerogative; while, on the other hand, I have further found, in First 'Chalmers' Opinions,' p. 233, these forcible words:—"The prerogative, unless where it is abridged by grants, etc., made to the respective provinces, is that power over the subjects which, by the common law of the land, abstracted from all Acts of Parliament, and grants and liberties, the King could rightfully exercise in England." The Crown, in Jamaica, I submit, then, clearly possesses the prerogatives which it from time to time exercised in this country up to the time of the passing of the Bill of Rights. If these views are correct, it then follows that in Jamaica the Executive not only possesses the common law right to repel force by force, but that the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign, was warranted in proclaiming martial law without any legislative action, and that courts-martial can sit as legally constituted courts in a disturbed district. I fully admit that the case of *Fabrigas* v. *Mostyn*, quoted by the learned counsel, conclusively establishes the principle that a Governor can be rendered liable in this country for an illegal act committed abroad. In this case Governor Mostyn had heavy damages given against him, because he acted in diametrical opposition to all laws; but the learned counsel had not the candour to mention at the same time, to those who sought their opinion, that the case of *Dutton* v. *Howell*, mentioned in *Fabrigas* v. *Mostyn*, also established another principle, namely, that a Governor could plead as a bar to any action or indictment, the laws of the colony under which

he acted; or, to give the following words of Lord Mansfield, used when giving final judgment against Governor Mostyn:—Justice Powell says, in the case of *Way* v. *Yally*, that an action "of false imprisonment had been brought here against the Governor of Jamaica for the imprisonment there, and the laws of the courts were given in evidence;" and, adds Lord Mansfield, "he showed, I suppose, by the laws of the country, an Act which justified that imprisonment, and the court received it, to be sure, as they ought to do. Whatever is a justification in the place where the thing is done, ought to be a justification in the place where the thing is tried." Governor Mostyn was punished because he could neither plead that he had properly exercised the prerogative of the Crown, or was protected by any local law, or by any *ex post facto* legislation. Governor Eyre, on the contrary, can claim all three. There is nothing illegal in proclaiming martial law: the constitution of this country allows it, but only requires preceding legislation; the constitution of Jamaica enables the executive to dispense with such legislation. In any case, it cannot, with a shadow of reason, be denied that the law of Jamaica authorized a warrant being issued against Gordon, and that, whether or not the Governor had the right to proclaim martial law and to create courts-martial, he stands by the subsequent act of the island—the Bill of Indemnity—in precisely the same position as if he had.

The argument used, that as Governor Eyre's consent was required to the Act, he could not pardon himself, shows that the learned gentlemen are really driven to their wits' end to find the slightest shadow of reason to support the earnest desire of a party to prosecute Governor Eyre in this country. An assent has been given to the Bill of Indemnity, not by Edward Eyre, but by the representative of the Sovereign; and if the private individual, Edward Eyre, be subsequently dealt with, he can surely, in all reason and justice, be protected by what is an ample protection for every other British citizen in Jamaica. For instance, is it because a Governor assents to a Bill granting him a salary, as many Governors were formerly in the habit of doing, that therefore he cannot use such salary so granted?

If the learned Counsel's argument on this point be admitted, see what it inevitably leads to. Every felon in Jamaica, every person who has ever been punished in that island, by the authority of the Executive carrying out any law, to which, as Governor, Mr. Eyre had given his consent, could prosecute him in this country, and he would be estopped from pleading that he acted according to the law, because, in his official capacity, he had given the assent of the Crown to that law. The proposition is as monstrous as it is untenable.

Another argument put forward with great speciousness is

this: That Governor Eyre, if he has committed any crime at all, has committed a crime against the law of this country, and that the Legislature of Jamaica have no authority to pass a Bill of Indemnity, virtually pardoning an offence against the laws of England. It is very true that no colony has a right, in its legislative capacity, to control an Act of the Imperial Parliament; but though the 9th sect. 24 & 25 Vict. c. 100, and the earlier statutes mentioned by the learned counsel, authorize the courts of law in this country to deal with crimes committed by British subjects, either in foreign lands or in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, yet not one of the statutes attempt to give an exclusive jurisdiction to the English courts. They only possess a concurrent jurisdiction with the colonial courts, as the following words of the 9th section of the statute above quoted satisfactorily prove:—

"Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent any person from being tried in any place out of *England* or *Ireland*, for any murder or manslaughter committed out of England or Ireland, in which such death, stroke, poisoning, or hurt shall happen in the same manner as such person might have been tried before the passing of this Act."

It is evident that the statutes which apply to this question have not established, and that it was not the intention of the English legislature to establish, anything that could in the slightest degree interfere with that principle so clearly laid down by Lord Mansfield, that a Governor, though tried in an English court, and for an alleged breach of English law, can always plead as a bar to any action or indictment, the law of the land under which he acted, and in which the offence charged was committed.

With reference, Sir, to the treatment that Governor Eyre has lately received at the hands of Her Majesty's Government, I hardly dare trust myself to speak on the subject, lest I be tempted to exceed the bounds of temperate discussion. I dread to think what may be the probable consequences of this unjust and impolitic action of the Government. Even if it does not cause all order and authority to be trampled upon in the West Indies,—even if devastation, carnage, and worse than death be not carried into the homestead of every white family, it cannot fail to paralyse the energies of every public servant entrusted with the maintenance of British rule in various quarters of the globe. In saying this, let it not be understood that the friends of the colonies,—that the friends of Governor Eyre,—that the friends of the hapless beings who were so cruelly and treacherously murdered at Morant Bay, shrink from inquiry. They simply demand justice, and that there should be a proper vindication of outraged laws; and I venture to ask this audience, to ask the people of England, not to form, upon grossly exaggerated or wilfully false statements, hasty conclusions.

We are expressly warned by the 'Jamaica Standard' not to place reliance on the notes of Gordon's trial that were stolen from its office; but even on that evidence, imperfect as it doubtless is, there can be no moral doubt of Gordon's guilt. Read his speeches, read his addresses, read his letters, hear what he is proved to have said in Bogle's chapel, and then, I ask, where is there room for doubt? I admit that it might not have been sufficient to legally prove him guilty in a court of law, with numerous legal technicalities governing the reception of evidence; but a court-martial is bound by no such technicalities, and its members, as men of honour and integrity, are simply bound, when sitting, as the court sat at Morant Bay, to declare whether, upon the evidence that has been brought before them (be that evidence what it may), they believe the accused guilty or not guilty.

In dealing equal-handed justice, the Imperial Government should have taken care that no outside pressure induced them to cast censure directly or indirectly upon a man who, they have already testified, in a position of great difficulty and danger, nobly performed his duty, and, at all hazards to himself and to his future career, upheld the menaced authority of his Sovereign.

Judge Hibbert (of the United States) considered the negro to be naturally capable of civilization, and that under favourable influences the people of Africa might, after a few centuries, be found as civilized as the white races. The condition of a slave was peculiarly unfavourable to moral improvement, for slaves had nothing to care for; but if they gave the negro education, and the same kind of encouragement that was given to the children of white men, they would be equal to them. The negroes were generally admitted to be very "smart" in making a bargain, and he did not think they were in other respects intellectually inferior. Civilization, he said, was quite distinct from religion; for if religion were considered to be an indication of civilization, the African negroes were the highest type of civilization, for they believed more than any other people on the face of the earth—they believed much more than Christians. Civilization, he (Judge Hibbert) contended, consisted in the knowledge men had of their own rights, and a respect for the rights of others; and until we civilized ourselves, we could not expect to do much towards civilizing Africa. America had given the franchise to the negro, and would give them an equal position to the white man. In some of the American states, where the negroes had been free for many years, they had turned out the finest black babies in the world. One thing the negro had to contend against, was the prejudice of the white race, who had a great contempt for them. He never, in his life, saw a

white man take off his hat to a negro. Unless they got rid of their prejudices against the blacks, education alone would be of little use: for as long as the negroes had no incitement to improve themselves, they would not be civilized. He believed that the negro is as capable of attaining the highest degree of civilization as the white man; and it should be borne in mind that not many years ago the people of this country were barbarous savages.

Mr. Winwood Reade said, that he had had more experience of the savage than of the semi-civilized or missionarized negro. He would, however, make a remark on native wars, which might, to some extent, bear upon the subject of the discussion. He had gone up the Gambia with a diplomatic expedition, and had observed that the English had no influence in that river, and were despised by the natives. In the Senegal, which he afterwards ascended, he had found that the French were feared and respected. The reason of this was, that in the late Badaboo war the English had shown great indulgence to their enemies, while the French had always acted upon the contrary principle. Now savages never believe in the existence of those virtues which they do not themselves possess. We spared them from benevolence; they supposed that it was from fear. What he had always said about native wars was this—Avoid them as long as you can; but if you must fight with natives, kill them down. Kill them down not only for self-protection, but from a philanthropic principle. It seems paradoxical to say so, but there may be mercy in a massacre. If the natives had been more sternly dealt with, we should not now have them fixing the precise date when they would take Bathurst, and about to drag us into a war which will probably involve a serious loss of life; he might add, that had not Governor Eyre shown such prompt severity, we should now be sending out troops to save white men's lives, instead of a Commission to sit upon black men's carcases.

Mr. Harris said:—With reference to the remarks we have been favoured with by Captain Pim, on the condition of the natives in the interior of Africa, there can be no doubt that, as the traveller recedes from the coast, the more intelligent the inhabitants are, that he meets with.

The pure negro is amalgamated with the more enlightened people of the interior, until they are nearly lost in the great tribe of Foulahs or Foutahs, who, with their numerous and powerful offshoots of Manding, Boondu, Suleimah, Bambarrahs, Serawoolys, and Segos are always to be met within two hundred miles of the coast.

These people possess the leading political and religious power wherever met, are keen traders, and acquire most of the material wealth of the district; they are strict Moslems, and teach the negroes they settle amongst sufficient of their faith to make them feared and respected. They have a literature of their own, and are looked up to by the negro as "bookmen," or superiors. They are easily distinguished from the negro by their regular and prominent features, resembling in their physique the Arab and Moor, to whom they bear a strong affinity.

From personal observation amongst the different negro tribes I have been amongst, with regard to the ideas they have of worshipping a deity, it is not to pray for benefits here or hereafter, but always to be protected from present injury and bodily suffering, the superior object of their worship being the incarnation and ruling power of all evil, nothing of good.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the negro is a tiller of the soil from necessity, but never attempts any improvements, changes, or extensions upon the system handed down to him by his forefathers; and from his natural indolence, all efforts made by philanthropists to induce them to use our common implements of husbandry, or to alter their mode of planting, have been useless.

The negro limits his husbandry to the satisfaction of his daily wants, to procure the support of which, in the tropics, and with a virgin soil, requires but little effort or exertion on their part.

I can support Captain Pim's statement, that the Maroons are pure negroes, from personal observations made amongst the Maroons of Sierra Leone. They were originally freed slaves of Cuba and Jamaica, and were numerous between 1735 and 1745, at which latter date, having attracted the attention of the Jamaica Government by their increasing numbers, they were located in the Blue Mountain Ridges.

The appellation "Maroon" was given to them by the white men, as indicating the freed blacks. In 1784, they numbered 1400 fighting men, and revolted against the British Government in June, 1785,—keeping up for many years a sort of guerilla warfare, and not being finally subdued until March, 1796, and then principally by the use of Cuban bloodhounds. Until this day it is a common term of reproach against the descendants at Sierra Leone, that they were subdued by dogs. The Maroons are principally descendants of the Gold Coast tribes, and still retain amongst them the same religious superstitions, customs, and common names, as, for instance, the naming of their children after the days of the week upon which they are born, such as Quamin (Monday), the son of Quaceo (Thursday), each day being denoted by the masculine and feminine gender. They

boast of being directly descended, or having been concerned in the Jamaica rebellion at the end of the eighteenth century, as partisans of King Cudjoe, their leader.

Notwithstanding the length of time that has elapsed since the deportation of a portion of these people to Sierra Leone, where they have been absolutely free and unfettered, they look back with pride to the time when they were able to contend with the white man, showing, in my opinion, another instance of their antagonistic feeling to their best benefactors.

Whether the recent outbreak in Jamaica can, in any degree, be traced to these antagonistics of race is worthy our most careful consideration, more particularly with regard to the future government of the negro.

Mr. Henry Liggins said :—When a few hours ago I heard that Captain Bedford Pim, R.N., was to read a paper this evening to the members and friends of this Society, I felt that the subject of the negro would be dealt with in a manner intelligent, plain, and practical, just and truthful, and with that simple telling eloquence, for which the published writings of this highly gifted naval officer have made him conspicuous. I felt it right to come here to confirm the statements I expected him to make ; and I venture to think that I understand the subject, having visited the United States of America, and paid many visits to the West Indies during the last thirty years, and have had opportunities of observing the negro character in sixteen of the islands, British and foreign. During this long period I have had many proofs of devotion, affection, and kindness from the blacks; as a large employer of labour in the cultivation of sugar estates, I have done my best to improve them in their social condition; my inclination as well as my worldly interest has always been in their favour, and I could wish that it were not in my power to confirm the accuracy of the views expressed at such length in the able paper that we have all listened to with so much edification; but I confess that I am bitterly disappointed in all the efforts I have seen made to improve their condition. This is not caused from any lack of schooling given them in their youth, nor from any visible want of mental capacity, for they are ready enough at learning, and have at their fingers' ends the height of the Himalaya mountains, the distance of the earth from the moon, and all such matters as are unsuited to the hands that toil, while they seem to be too proud to learn anything that would be practically useful in everyday life. There is a great inconsistency in their character: they are endowed with capacity to learn anything they please, but I never knew a case where the energy and determination came forth to induce them to apply their knowledge for their own gain in life or for the benefit of their employer

From the grandiloquent phraseology of the words they use, you would be inclined to give them credit for a desire to rise to the higher ranks of civilized life; but I have no recollection of ever observing an individual endeavour to advance his position above that station in which it has pleased God to call him. Who ever knew of a black man rising to the position of a gentleman? Now such instances are common enough among the whites all over the world; and the charity schools of this very parish can testify to the fact that many of their humble scholars, who certainly do not receive as advanced an education as the majority of negroes in the West India islands, rising to wealth, honour, and elevated position, the fruit of a well-directed mind and persevering industry.

We observe among the Chinese and the Coolies from India, as well as among the Portuguese from Madeira and the Cape de Verde Islands, who emigrate to the West Indies, a strong desire to work hard, save money, and with their savings become shopkeepers, in which many of them amass considerable fortunes, and ultimately become merchants and the owners of vessels. Several cases of such success have come under my own notice, while the indolent negro looks on in wonder at the rapid strides and comforts of life enjoyed by strangers who have been only a few years among them.

Idleness is the curse of the negro. The men, as a rule, never work if necessity does not compel them to do so; and the women and children do all the drudgery, while the upright, nobly-formed figure of the black man prefers to lie and smoke all day under the shade of a tree, and returning to his hut with savage cruelty and harsh severity towards those whom he ought to love. The horrid cruelty of the blacks, and their neglect of their children, is truly painful to behold, and I think, coupled with their apparently unalterable licentiousness, prove them to be incapable of becoming, under any known conditions, good citizens; and I much fear that we must form the conclusion that the negro is destined to become extinct, if at any time he should lose the protecting care of the white man.

At this late hour I can only occupy the time of this large meeting with a few words on the recent events that have occurred in Jamaica. Nothing has astonished me more than to find that any section of my countrymen should venture to express so strong an opinion as they have done upon a subject about which they must be very imperfectly informed; and I think, as it is impossible that they can enter into the feelings, dreads, and anxieties of the whites of Jamaica, 5000 miles distance, who number only one-fortieth in number with the blacks, that they should rather place themselves in the same dangerous position, and ask themselves if they think they would have acted differ-

ently, when they found the upper classes, their daily associates, their neighbours and friends, being brutally murdered around them, their houses sacked and burned, and their plantations laid waste, with their cattle turned loose in the woods; and all this horrid devilry occurring, not because the blacks had any real grievance, for their friends have not pointed out any justly existing cause for dissatisfaction, but because they were known to have been set on by political demagogues, whose treason was well known to all classes in that magnificent colony.

When the intelligence of this rebellion reached this country, all classes were alarmed at the events that had taken place; and it may be assumed that Her Majesty's Government were better informed than individuals. What did they do? Why, the Prime Minister of England and his associates, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a despatch to Governor Eyre, thanking him and the civil authorities, and the naval and military forces, for the promptitude, energy, and skill displayed by them, in timely crushing out a formidable rebellion, and thus stopping the further sacrifice of property and innocent lives: thereby retaining, I trust, for future usefulness, this bright gem of the British Crown.

Can anything be more depressing to all right-minded men? Can anything be more humiliating to us, from the ridicule with which we shall be assailed by all foreign countries, when it is discovered that our Prime Minister has yielded to the unscrupulous clamour of a section of the lowest class of Baptist ministers, advanced radicals, and political reformers, backed by the worn-out remnant of the Anti-Slavery Society, aided by the 'Star' newspaper, which is so ably conducted, as a rule, that it merits the most severe censure for taking a part so thoroughly un-English as to condemn untried men, the representatives of the Sovereign, whose conduct under most trying circumstances has been approved by all the legal functionaries, the great body of the magistracy, the clergy of all denominations who hold any position for good among the educated classes, and every section of politicians, the merchants, and the whole body of the whites in Jamaica, and last, though not of less importance, by all the proprietors resident in this country who have property in the island, the great mass of the educated people in this country, and Her Majesty's Government?

Governor Eyre has been harshly treated by those who should have upheld him; but I have no doubt that his honest, upright conduct through life, his great ability and aptitude for the duties of his high position, will enable him to pass through the present trial with honour, and I hope that he may be spared to receive the reward that his noble conduct deserves.

I hold in my hand a letter I received the day before yesterday,

by the last West Indian mail, written in another island, dated 12th January. The writer, a gentleman of high position, who has himself received special marks of favour from our beloved Queen, writes:—

"In respect to Gordon's execution, what will be said when his father's letter is quoted, stating that he deserved his fate? And this judgment is said to have been given by a man seventy-five years of age.

"Again, there is a lady here who asked, 'How could Gordon say that he did not know Paul Bogle? when I can state that he was his body-servant for years.'

"If Earl Russell sacrifices a Governor to appease popular clamour, then who will be found to put down rebellion in Her Majesty's colonies without fearing he goes to duty with a rope round his neck?"

Does that active-minded Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society really believe that "his dear friend Gordon" was penning the truth when he wrote that Governor Eyre purloined public money, and with it bought a pianoforte for his own family, and smuggled it through the custom-house?

It is well understood that it is the custom for Governors to be allowed their personal effects to pass through the customs without the payment of duties; and Gordon knew this as well as any one in Jamaica, and must be branded for writing a deliberate lie with a view to deceive the people of England.

It is quite the fashion among some classes of religious fanatics in this country to approve of everything done by the negro; to make a pet of him, and at the same time to censure the deeds of the whites, whether right or wrong; and I regret to notice that in the last two numbers of the 'Cotton Supply Association Reporter,' of Manchester, there are articles censuring an Act recently passed in Antigua, and approved by the Colonial Office, to punish offenders for stealing cotton, which Act was found necessary to protect the fields of the whites from being robbed.

From the means I have had of observation, I am satisfied that the greatest misfortune of the negro is the interference of the Anti-Slavery Society and the teaching of Baptist and other religious sects, whose whole aim is directed to unsettle his mind, make him dissatisfied with his lot, and urge him to extort from his master wages that his profits do not enable him to give. This is well known to be the cause of the present ruin, that, like a dark cloud, hangs over Jamaica.

Indolence is the cause of all the vice of the negro; and if his real friends would take my advice, and urge him to habits of steady continuous work for six days a week, for the fair wages which the planter would then be able to afford, they would make him a useful being, and our West Indian Colonies would again

add largely to the wealth of the mother-country; and his soul would be spared from the desire for treason and murder, and we should not again hear of impious oaths and glorious congratulations over foul murders and horrible mutilations, and drunken orgies in Baptist meeting-houses.

Gentlemen, I think our sympathy should be with the murdered whites and their disconsolate families and desolate homes, and not, as the Anti-Slavery Society would desire, with the murderous blacks, who met summary vengeance from the soldiers of their own colour.

I think we ought to thank our stars that we have a Governor, and officers of the navy and army, who so fearlessly upheld the honour and dignity of our country; and I think we ought to unite in thanking God that those efforts were crowned with success, and, under Providence, the murder of all the whites was prevented, and the colony of Jamaica, second to no place in the world for beauty and fertility, is still preserved to the British Crown.

(The speaker was frequently interrupted with applause, and resumed his seat amid loud cheers.)

Dr. Seemann, V.P., said:—When, twenty years ago, I left Europe I held very much the same opinions about the negro as most of those do who know him from second-hand sources only. I thought him deserving of pity, and requiring only to be put to school, and in the full possession of freedom, to become equal, if not superior, to the white man. I would scarcely believe myself that I once held these absurd opinions, if I did not find them recorded in my own handwriting. I had not been long in the West Indies before facts proved stronger than my theory. I saw the negro in the full enjoyment of all the privileges of a British subject, with plenty of profitable labour before him, and yet not availing himself of these chances, and ruining some of the finest colonies in the world by his indolence. Afterwards I had still better opportunities of studying him in the Spanish American Republics; and when, after a voyage round the world of seven years' duration, I returned once more to England, I had entirely abandoned the ideas with which I set out. All my subsequent experience, in every part of the world, confirmed my conviction that the equality of the negro and the white man, and the possibility of elevating the negro to the standard of the white by education, are mere delusions of the half-informed.

I am far from underrating the power of those who advocate the equality of the negro with ourselves. Late events have proved it. Everybody who has travelled in the United States must have observed the ill-disguised contempt with which the majority of Northerners regard the negro. Yet so perfect was

the organization of the abolitionists, and so clever were their tactics, that the North could be made to fight the South and make the rights of the negroes one of their battle-cries! Too late the Americans discovered by whom they were led by the nose, and that the anthropological theory, for the vindication of which some of their best blood was spilt, was rotten at the core.

It is singular that the advocates of negro equality and fraternity do not make a practical application of their theory to themselves. Why don't they persuade their sons and daughters to intermarry with negroes? I am sure they would not maintain that doctrine for a moment, if called upon thus to prove the sincerity of their convictions. A refined white man cannot be in the company of negroes without feeling disgusted by the abominable smell emanating from them. By special pleading you may get over many of the objections preferred against the negro. You may argue away his ugliness, by declaring that, as there is no accounting for taste, you see nothing but lines of beauty in him; you may excuse his indolence by pointing to heaps of idlers amongst ourselves; his cruelty, by quoting the history of Nero and other monsters; his ignorance, by the thousands of dupes and fools in the very centres of civilization; but how will you get over the repulsive odour peculiar to the black skin, and particularly nauseous on a hot tropical day? With this obstacle in the way, can there be any real intimacy between the negro and the white? Or where there is, can it be called any other name but degradation on the part of the Europeans?

Anthropologists have still so many grave questions to solve, that they might be fairly excused for postponing the discussion on the negro's equality with, or inferiority to, the white man. But it is their duty to speak out when the advocates of equality act in a way which must lead to the total extinction of the white race in tropical America. In the tropics the white man labours under so many disadvantages from the climate, that he can only exist there in the position of master. Even then he must recruit his family by constant infusion of fresh blood from home, or else doom it to extinction. The negro, on the contrary, suffers from no climatic disadvantages: he can perform field and other heavy work without suffering in health, and he does not require an infusion of fresh blood to make him thrive and multiply. The two races are thus placed in a position which gives a preponderating advantage to the negro. There is only one thing in the white man's favour—his intellect; and this sole advantage is neutralized by those who insist on the negro's intellect being of equal calibre. In the British West Indies the negroes have not been able to carry out this theory of equality to its legitimate results. But in Hayti and several of the Spanish American Republics they have already done so. There have been in those

countries innumerable insurrections, of which the late Jamaica one is but a faint copy; and in every instance they have been directed against the whites. Every fresh rising brings the black element more to the surface. In some places a white face is now as rarely seen as a black in London. Anarchy, such as the world has seldom beheld, is the normal state of things. Bolivar, the liberator of Columbia, foresaw all this. Every word of the remarkable speech he made a few days before his death, has come true. He took so desponding a view of the future of those countries, that he advised all sensible men to emigrate. "If it were possible," he concludes, "that a part of the world could relapse into chaos, it would be Spanish America."

The President then called on Commander Bedford Pim to reply to the remarks of the various speakers. He said that the Society was much indebted to Commander Pim for coming boldly forward to read a paper on this most important subject, and he was proud to find the gallant officer's lengthened experience had led him to entertain similar views to those expressed at the Anthropological Society three years ago.

Commander Bedford Pim begged to return his sincere thanks for the manner in which his paper had been listened to; he had felt a glow of delight at the enthusiastic reception accorded by a crowded and highly respectable audience, to the common-sense view of the black question, which he had had the honour to lay before them; and he had been especially delighted at the strong feeling, so warmly evinced, in condemning the conduct of the Government in this matter; for whether Governor Eyre was right or wrong, it was quite clear that a rowdy invasion of Downing Street ought not to have been tolerated for one moment by ministers having the slightest regard, not for their own, but the nation's dignity.

Besides, the Government of this great country ought to have been sufficiently self-reliant to have taken the case into their own hands, and at least to have given Governor Eyre the opportunity of vindicating his conduct before superseding him.

Practical men were united in their condemnation of the "deposition and degradation" of Governor Eyre, not only from a feeling of contempt at witnessing the abandonment of a tried and faithful public servant, but because a more ill-judged and hazardous measure could hardly have been adopted in the face of recent events,—such a measure as neither Wellington nor Palmerston would ever have assented to.

He trusted that any incompleteness in his paper would be forgiven, as other avocations of an engrossing nature had occupied him during its preparation; but he felt so keenly on the subject, that he had waived all personal considerations, in the

strong sense of duty which impelled him to bring the matter forward.

In conclusion, he earnestly hoped that if ever he should find himself in a similar position to that of Governor Eyre, he might have the courage, determination, and self-reliance to act precisely as his Excellency had done.

As soon as the President left the chair, three cheers for Governor Eyre were loudly called for, and responded to most enthusiastically, after which the meeting separated at a late hour.

THE END.

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LES PRINCIPES DE REVOLUTIONS

EN HAÏTI.

LES PRINCIPES DE REVOLUTIONS EN HAÏTI.

En lisant tous les actes des derniers évènements d'Haïti qualifiés de révolution, l'on voit tant d'anomalies avec la saine raison politique, les théories sont en si flagrantes contradictions avec les pratiques, que l'on remarque sans un profond examen, l'insuffisance politique des hommes qui se qualifient "d'éclairés" et se croient seuls en droit de diriger l'avenir de cette République. Nouveaux Syllas aux petits moyens, ils veulent le triomphe de la *minorité* contre la *majorité ;* ils ensanglantent leur pays, sans avoir les moyens d'établir un nouvel ordre de choses qui puisse sauvegarder sa nationalité,– et pour la vaine prépondérance d'un parti usé et incapable. Ce pays qui n'a pas cessé d'être bouleversé depuis 27 ans, par l'ambition de quelques désœuvrés, qui ont toujours vu un moyen de faire fortune ou de réparer leurs banqueroutes dans les changements des chefs du Gouvernement a besoin d'une reforme morale et politique.

La Constitution d'Haïti est essentiellement libérale et malgré cela le gouvernement s'exerce toujours despotiquement, arbitrairement et tyranniquement; aucun pays n'a pas de meilleurs Lois, mais dans aucune contrée du monde, les gouvernements ne se moquent pas autant de leur exécution, de là, les élèments de bouleversements infinis.– Il n'y a jamais eu de révolution proprement dite, ce sont toujours des substitutions d'individus qui succombent sous l'intrigue des spéculateurs politiques,– qui trouvent plus faciles,– à faire ce qu'ils condamnaient au nom des institutions libérales et de la liberté,– qu'ils violent sans vergogne le jour de leur triomphe. C'est le droit du vainqueur.

En 1843, Boyer fut renversé du pouvoir par une côterie politique, qui l'accusait d'être *resté stationnaire pendant 25 années; de n' avoir pas donné l'éducation au peuple, d' avoir maintenu le système militaire qui retardait la civilisation et l'aidait à violer les Lois.*

Les jeunes regénérateurs s'etaient posés en *curateurs* de la nation, ils publièrent un programme dans lequel était exposé les plus nobles et les plus grands principes libéraux; ils se crurent les seuls capables de mettre en pratique leurs théories; ils écartèrent la majorité du peuple et l'expérience des anciens. Cette majorité il est vrai,– n' était pas l'intelligence, mais elle était la force; elle avait

la conscience de ses besoins,– la grande voix de Dieu dont celle des peuples est l'écho, raisonnait en elle. Ce peuple si bon, si doux si obéissant avait entendu la révolution, on lui répétait qu'elle avait été faite pour lui et il voyait que c'était une œuvre de privilèges, dans laquelle le mérite et la bonne foi avaient fait place aux favoris et aux adulateurs. Les révolutionnaires avaient à peine pris les rènes de l'Etat qu'ils se jetèrent dant tous les excès et livrérent leur patrie dans l'anarchie la plus complète.

Un soldat ignorant, (Rivière Hérard), sans conception politique, sans conséquence morale, dont la basse ambition, la soif de vengeance et l'orgueil d'un sôt préjugé était le chef de cette révolution qui avait tant de retentissement et qui, devait ètre si fatale à l'avenir d'Haïti,–amener tant de malheurs, soulever tant de passions par les mauvais procédés des hommes qui, en renversant le chef d'un mauvais gouvernement selon eux, avaient décidé de ne rien changer à son système. Que faire de la Rèpublique?.... "Un gâteau à partager."

Tous ces hommes dont les discours respiraient le dévouement à la patrie et *l'orgueil de leur race*, étaient instruits; quelques uns avaient été élévés en Europe, mais la plupart (c'étaient les plus bruyants et les plus audacieux), étaient ruinés par suite des débauches; ils voulaient refaire leur fortune et briller avec la vanité haïtienne au premier rang. Cette révolution si grandiose, si nécesaire, si pleine d'avenir, s'affaissa sous les excès de ses promoteurs qui avaient menti à leur pays et à l'humanité.– Le peuple s'en vengea, et dans un jour de grande indignation, furieux comme l'ouragan qui déracine tous les vieux arbres, qui renverse tout ce qui se croit assez fort pour lui résister, il culbuta dans sa colère hommes et choses et l'autonomie de la patrie s'en resentit:– elle se disloqua.

Le pays se débattit dans les plus grandes transes politiques pendant plusieurs années; la leçon avait été forte; mais malheureusement toujours après ces grandes crises, les passions soulevées laissent après elles l'immoralité et la corruption qui viennent avec leurs adulateurs justifier les maux accomplis. Les gouvernements individuels ou de parti se succedèrent plus ou moins recommandables les uns que les autres selon le caractère modéré ou absolu des chefs dont les volontés sont toujours souveraines dans cette oligarchie aux belles phrases.

Jamais la nation a eu part dans les élections de leur premier magistrat; un individu audacieux ou un parti disposant de la force armée par la ruse, impose son candidat que la majorité timide accepte sans murmurer, attendant qu'un autre plus heureux le renverse.

Les Lois n'ont jamais été observées, leur violation en Haïti sont des *choses* naturelles; les chefs n'en demandant leur exécution que pour faciliter leurs intérêts personnels ou ceux de leurs favoris: le dévoument à la patrie n'est pas compté en Haïti, c'est le dévouement à l'individu qui est un acte de vertu. Le crime n'est pas

puni, mais l'opinion contraire à celle du chef amène la mort ou l'exil. C'est pourtant la démocratie.

Soulouque général d'armée, illettré, sans aucune connaissance politique, fut le seul appelé au pouvoir sans l'avoir brigué, par une coterie incorrigible qui avait en vue de le dominer et de diriger l'Etat; plusieurs citoyens respectables dont l'amour de la patrie est incontestable, furent étonnés de ce procédé déloyal envers le pays, d'abord ils restèrent indifférents à cette nomination, décidés à servir leur patrie avec abnégation sous quelque gouvernement que ce puisse être et avec la loyauté de bons citoyens. Ces mêmes hommes qui avaient appelé Soulouque, constatèrent qu'il avait aussi des idées à lui, une volonté à lui et une conception administrative qui ne les laisseraient pas au premier rang; ils conspirèrent contre leur propre œuvre. Une partie terrible et sanglante fut jouée, le Président Soulouque triompha, et l'Empire fut créa; alors tous ceux qui n'avaient point pris part à l'élèvation du Chef, se groupèrent à ses côtés; car il avait le drapeau de l'ordre et il créa un gouvernement fort et respecté.

Douze années d'un règne absolu, pesa sur les haïtiens.- Les spéculateurs politiques qui malheureusement vivent à côté de tous les gouvernements, rampants aujourd'hui, hautains demain, avaient provoqué cette chute de nos institutions. Soulouque quoique sans instruction fut sincère et de bonne foi; il avait dit " l'Etat c'est moi, la Loi c' est ma volonté";–le pays allait de son train, le peuple n' était pas heureux mais il jouissait; il avait un maître qui l'empêchait de conspirer– et delà, le faisait aimer, et en riant il disait: frères, "Rejouissons, nous attendons l'avenir," que de fois plus tard, cepeuple aura–t–il à se dire, quel beau temps! quelle belle époque que le règne de Soulouque!!!

Juste au moment où la nation se livrait á tous ses rêves d'avenir, où elle s'arrangeait pour jouir de la paix et de l'ordre qui régnaient; un cri sourd puis terrible et orageux se fit entendre, le général Geffrard, un membre des débris de 1843, qui avoit trahi son parti dans deux occasions; accablé de dettes, pour se soustraire à la misère qui le devore, (occasionnée par le *jeu et le libertinage*), a lévé l'étendard de la revolte aux Gonaïves. A la tête de quelques banqueroutiers, compagnons de ses débauches, il a attaqué l'autorité du Gouvernement,–il a troublé l'ordre public. L'Empire était usé, Geffrard avait mis le nom d'un citoyen respectable en avant, il avait dit aux populations troublées et étonnées, que le peuple de L' Ouest et du Sud avait proclamé le général Paul, dont il n'était que le représentant. Le nom de cet honnête citoyen, de cet homme sans reproche qui avait l'amour de tous ses concitoyens, électrisât tous les cœurs et chacun accourut offrir sa vie pour le défendre; mais hélas! le peuple avait cru à un escroc, à un faussaire, à un ingrât que l'Empereur avait comblé de bienfaits ; qu'il aimait, qu'il avait sauvé la vie, à qui il donnait de l'argent toujours pour

satisfaire ses gôuts désordonnés du *jeu*– et il frappa la main généreuse de Soulouque.

Geffrard se présenta au peuple de l'Artibonite et du Nord, sous le masque de la démocratie, il promit monts et merveilles et tout ce que donnent de bonheur les institutions libérales dont il se déclare le premier champion; à peine avait–il réuni une force suffisante, qu'il usurpa le titre de Président de la République. L'Empire tomba, parceque cette institution n'était pas comprise ou ne convenait pas au peuple haïtien.– L'ignorance de la masse avait aidé aux agitateurs et parcequ'aussi le chef était vieux; mais la nation ne pardonna jamais à Geffrard son *usurpation;* il fut hué et méprisé plus qu'aucun chef ne l'avait été.– Les vols , les dilapidations, l'injustice et la violation des Lois exitèrent le peuple à recourir aux armes chaque année pour terrasser le vice de cet homme et de ses sicaires; jamais un chef de gouvernement ne s' était plus souillé de crimes et avait montré plus de basses et sales cupidités.

Arrivé au pouvoir, Geffrard s'est démasqué. Faisons vitement le portrait moral de Fabre Nicolas Geffrard, pour que l'on puisse juger cet homme dont l'âme pervertie et l'Hypocrisie a pu échapper au jugement de ceux qui ne l'ont vu qu'en passant ou de ceux qui n'ont entendu parler de luique par ses complices. Geffrard porte une figure qui vue sans examen, inspire au premier abord si ce n'est de la sympathie, dumoins la pitié; elle vous rappèle quelque fois les traits de "Jesus Souffrant" peints dans les reproductions en plâtre que débitent les Italiens ambulants dans nos villes d'Haïti, vous croyez entendre dans son silence : Aimez—vous les uns les autres; mais en le considérant attentivement, vous reconnaissez le singe et la Hyène dans cet homme à double face. Il est un discoureur infini , mais sa logique est celle des disciples de "Loyola", il aime les phrases à effet; plagiaire sans pareil, pretentieux dégoutant, il se croit musicien, poète, mathematisien, orateur et homme d'Etat. Il a cru qu'il lui était aussi possible d'usurper les connaissances scientifiques que l'on ne peut acquerir que par l'étude, qu'il lui a été facile d' escroquer le pouvoir. Partout il veut briller, mais c'est le ver à la place du diamant– il laisse quelques éclats. Causant une fois d'ástronomie daus le cercle de ses intimes, il s'est ecrié: "Jái trouvé le secrêt du mouvement perpétuel." *Causeur* de progrès qu'il ne comprend pas, *appeleur* de parasites sur le pays afin de faire croire aux etrangers qu'il veut le bien être de la nation; *parleur* de patriotisme d'un pays qu'il a saigné de tous les membres; en grand disciple de Marchiavel, qui est son auteur favori mais sans etude, il n'a pu en comprendre que ce qui favorisait ses mauvais instincs;– superficiel en toutes choses excepté dans sa mauvaise foi et faisant des dupes de tous, il repetait souvent, je me sers des hommes comme du citron j'en prends le jus et je jète la peau." Corrupteur sans exemple; il a eu des Ministres de la Justice et de l'Instruction

publique,–les uns avaient été poursuivis pour crime de Viol d'autres, pour crime de peculât, tous ont été ses pourvoyeurs de virginités, prises dans les écoles de Jeunes filles, dirigées par ses anciennes maîtresses, dont la plupart vivaient en flagrant délit–d'adultère.

Tout le monde en Haïti sait que Geffrard recompensait ses maîtresses, d'une Commission de Directrice d'une école de Demoiselles– telle que Madame Pelletier, la femme d'un pirate négrier pris dans nos mers, volant de Jeunes nègres dans les canots de pêches pour être vendus à Cuba, le quel fut jugé et condamné à mort, mais la prostitution de la femme facilita l'évasion du mari et lui mérita une Commission de Directrice d'un établissement d'enseignement moral, réligieux et intellectuel des jeunes haïtiennes.

Geffrard a menti à son pays, il a violé impunément les Lois, il a enlèvé les fortunes de Soulouque et de sa famille, qu'il s'est approprié, lui et ses favoris, il a illegalment affecté les déniers de l'Etat à son profit, il a semé la division entre les enfants de la même race; véritable harpie de la Fable il gâtait et salissait toutes les réputations ; il soldait la délation et l'espionnage pour n'épagner aucune respectabilité, il s'attachait avec la persistance de Satan à persécuter les hommes les plus respectables, les plus instruits et les plus honnêtes, qui ont donné toutes les preuves de leur amour à la patrie dont ils ont le plus grand intérêt de conserver; ceux qui ne tombèrent pas sous sa hâche furent représentés comme de misérables agitateurs et proscripts ignominieusement de la patrie; il n'épargna pas même les femmes innocentes. Après avoir tendu des pièges et fait assassiner soit par le fer, par le poison ou le dégôut ceux qui l'avaient fait monter au pouvoir, il a lâchement fuit en emportant à l'étranger la fortune publique, pour s'en servir à bouleverser un pouvoir qu'il regrette et qui ne lui a aidé qu'à compromettre l'avenir de ses concitoyens et à les avilir.

Que de veuves, que d'orphelins cet homme fatal n'a pas faits durant sont administration, pour se maintenir au pouvoir? que de haines n' a–t–il pas entretenues en jetant le brandon de la discorde dans la famille haïtienne? quelle corruption n'a–t–il pas employée pour se cramponner à ce pouvoir qu'il n'a pas su défendre loyalement? Son esprit était si perverti, qu'il s'est lâchement servi des effets de la nature qui semblent l'avoir expressement préparé pour le rôle infâme qu'il a joué. Fils de noir et de jaune il s'est servi tantôt du privilège de la couleur de son père pour se faire passer pour noir près des hommes de cette nuance, tantôt du privilège de la couleur de sa mère dont il portait les cheveux, il se faisait passer pour mulâtre près des hommes de cette couleur et aux uns et autres il disait *tout doucement* qu'il était leur protecteur pour empêcher un conflit qu'il préparait *pourtant* le jour de sa chute qu' il prevoyait infaillible. Le Gouvernement de l' Empereur Soulouque avait fait oublier aux noirs et aux jaunes qu'ils étaient

de nuances différentes, lui le général Geffrard le leur a fait souvenir en leur disant défiez–vous les uns les autres!

O! mânes de Salomon ainé et de ses seize compagnons, de Ducas Hippolite et de ses Seize compagnons; d'Aimé Legros de ses huit compagnons, de Mongommery et de ses trois compagnons, d'Ogé Longuefosse et de ses trois compagnons, de Paul Isidor et de ses huit compagnons, ô ! mânes des innombrables victimes tombées sous le fer, le poison et le dégoût dont vous avez été abreuvé par ce rénégat, soulevez–vous dans vos tombeaux de martyrs pour crier: malédiction et maudire sa mémoire.

Salnave succède à Geffrard sous de mauvais auspices; comme Geffrard, il s'était fait chef de parti, comme lui il avait une fortune à refaire et comme lui il se joua des institutions; comme lui, mais avec plus de forme, plus de légalité il s'était imposé non pas à la masse qui était fascinée, qui dans la frénésie de ses passions s' enthousiasma pour le premier audacieux qui se présente, pour le premier soldat de fortune qui se montre avec le plus simple acte de courage, sans éxaminer le rôle que le hasard a joué dans leur destinée, sans juger leur passé et leur présent et l'espérance qu'il donne pour l'avenir; car les peuples aiment tout ce qui est nouveau, dussent– ils briser le lendemain cette idole qu'il a élevée hier: comme l'enfant brise le plus charmant joujou qu'il pleurait pour avoir.

„Le peuple français enléva un jour de ces caveaux antiques les cendres de soixante Rois pour les jeter aux vents et y déposer les restes de Mirabeau et de Marrat et à un autre jour il traina dans les égoûts leurs cadavres qu'il avait élevé au panthéon."

Salnave soutenu de la masse et de l'armée s'impose aux représentants de la nation; et il fut proclamé Président de la République, mais moins rusé, moins adroit, n'ayant aucum tact politique, il heurta à chaque pas les embûches qui lui sont tendus par les favoris de son prédécesseur. Une minorité aristocratique s'agite et intrigue contre ce nouveau chef et finit par susciter un fatal conflit que le bon sens du peuple avait su éviter à d' autres époques (en comprimant l'ambition des partis qui le provoquait), et, de ce conflit la guerre civile sanglante et hideuse avec toutes ses horreurs se fit voir sur toute la surfâce du pays; et dans ces moments de luttes fratricides, nul jugement ne put distinguer au milieu des excès, où étaient les défenseurs de la patrie, dont tous s' evertuaient à déchirer le sein.

Le sang coula à flots et les fortunes furent anéanties.

Dans les deux rangs l'on répondit du côté du Gouvernement à l'incendie par l' incendie, au pillage par le pillage et à l'assassinat par l'assassinat; mais rien n'égalât les atrocités des révolutionnaires; nulle scène de carnage plus terrible et plus barbare ne s'est jamais fait entendre nulle part. Enfin Salnave succomba sous la force de l'incurie et de la mauvaise foi des hommes qu'il

avait appelés à l'aider, en qui il avait placé une aveugle et fatale confiance; mais il aimait son pays, et s'il a accepté la lutte, c'est parce qu'il se voyait le chef d'une nouvelle idée dont l'avenir était rayonnant et progressif; malheureusement il avait mal choisi ses hommes; s'il avait été compris, s'il avait l'aptitude nécessaire pour tout diriger lui-même, il serait le Marius de sa patrie, comme le vainqueur des Cimbres abattant l'aristocratie dans Rome," il aurait écrasé les pretentions de suprêmatie qui domine un parti en Haïti. Mais laissons à l'avenir l'heure du nivellement, car toutes les saintes idées doivent avoir son triomphe; alors les martyrs se leveront avec leur auréole de gloire.

Nous examinerons à l'œuvre les révolutionnaires de 1868 qui ont donné un programme de principes moraux et de civilisation, nous verrons si leurs actes écrits repondent à leurs actions, satisfont à la morale publique et peuvent consolider le progrès dont ils se fonts les Champions. La prise d'armes contre Salnave a eu pour griefs, la *violation de la Constitution, le désordre dans les finances &.&.*

Les promoteurs de cette révolution, en appelant le peuple aux armes avaient juré de rétablir la Constitution de 1867 et *de déposer après leur triomphe les pouvoirs extraordinaires qu'ils s'étaient donnés en rétablissant l'assemblée nationale, seul pouvoir souverain habile à nommer le chef de l'Etat et à modifier s'il est nécessaire la Constitution.*

Qu'avions- nous vu à la place de ce programme menteur. D'abord la révolution se couvrit de crimes, aux Cayes, à Jérémie, à Miragoâne. au Petit-Goâve, au Grand-Goâve, à Léogâne, à Jacmel, à Aquin et dans toutes les localités du Sud par où elle a passée; par l'assassinat de centaines d'individus; femmes, vieillards et enfants livrés à la férocité des *Trois-Boutons*, des *Malfinis, des Bioleau-Laforest-* dignes compagnons des Brice, des Domingue, des Rebecca Hector et des Petion Faubert qui se disputèrent la priorité des tortures à faire supporter aux innocentes victimes, qui n' avaient fait que rester neutres dans le bouleversement opérés par ces energumènes. Brice ainé, jeune homme de 28 ans à peine, assassine de sa propre main, le général Marcelin Jean Baptiste du parti du Gouvernement; il fit couper le poignet droit à tous ceux qu'il rencontra sur sa route de Leógâne à Miragoâne après sa fuite devant le Port-au-Prince; il ordonna à son collègue Trois-Boutons de tuer à coup de sabre tous ceux qu'il prenait et en sa présence il fit tomber les uns après les autres les membres de ses victimes, jusqu'à ce que mort s'en suive.-Domingue fit mitrailler dans les prisons des Cayes les femmes, les enfants et les vieillards; il fit bayonnetter à Aquin et à Cavaillon tous ceux qui lui étaient suspects; aux Cayes, il fit mitrailler Borgella et Mentor après un jugement d'acquittement:— *un père de famille*, citoyen inoffensif qui ne s'était jamais occupé de la politique fut arrêté et jeté dans les prisons des Cayes; son fils âgé de 15 ans, se presente pour le voir, juste dans le même moment l' on venait prendre le père pour le conduire á la mort; le fils

l'accompagne au lieu du supplice et pendant qu'il l'embrassait il tomba mort avec son père sous le feu des soldats;–*Une dame, mère de famille respectable* qui avait comblé Domingue et ses neveux les Rameaux,de bienfaits, fut arrêtée á cause de son fils qui avait abandonné la révolution et est fusillée sans acune forme de proces.— Rebecca plus humain pour ne pas rester en arrière de ces saturnales ne fit fusiller á Jacmel que *vingt deux citoyens sans jugements.* Petion Faubert, a Pétionville *fit violer les femmes et les filles et assassiner les maris et les frères,* et dans la joie de sa féroce nature il s'écrie „il faut les *dèpatter.*"

Brice et ses amis ont enlevé á leur profit plus de 6.000.000 de gourdes en mounaie nationale à bord du navire „22 Decembre" au Petit– Goâve; ils ont partagé entre eux environ 100.000 piatres et des bijoux en quantité qui y avaient été déposés par des familles. Brice et Duponci Dupont jeune, ont pillé tous les magasins d'Aquin, ils ont proscrit les propriétaires ou les ont fait *blanchir*: C'était leur nouveau vocabulaire qui signifiait hâcher. Voila la moralité et l'excellence des principes de ces soi-disant patriotes.

Les révolutionnaires violèrent sans vergogne toutes les Lois du pays, il n'y a plus de doute, que dans le délire de leur ambition ils voulurent faire le partage de la République en plusieurs gouvernements indépendants; afin que chacun des chefs eût un lambeau pour commander en maître, demandant à *l'unisson le protectorat américain;* tous les actes de Domingue dans le sud, dans son gouvernement méridional l'attestent : voir les journaux des Cayes et de Jacmel de l'époque. Les principes de la Constitution furent foulés aux pieds– et les révolutionnaires firent la guerre en véritable *Cartouche,* ausi-le pillage a–t'il été grand ! Ils ont accusé Salnave d'avoir émis des billets de caisse sans autorisation pour faire la guerre, et ils en ont fait en masse appauvrisant de plus en plus le pays, qui succombe avec de faux papiers; ils ont accusé Salnave de laisser piller l'Etat par les fournisseurs; eux, les chefs révolutionnaires ont pillé ouvertement, il n'y a rien qu'ils ont accusé dont ils n'ont pas mille fois dépassé. Le pays entier est imbu des manœuvres des ces infames pillards qui ont voulu renvoyer la responsabilité de leur vandalisme au parti du Gouvernement; mais quelqu'il en a été, les représailles n'ont jamais égalès les actes qui les ont provoqués.

Brice enlève de Sifrat, lieutenant de Salnave qu'il traite d'assasin et de pillard, 12.000 *piastres et* 300 *sacs de café* il les garde sans en rendre compte á qui que ce soit.

Domingue et ses neveux les Rameaux s'étaient faits les maîtres absolus du trésor public aux Cayes; ils ont fabriqué a leur profit des millions de gourdes en papiers mounaie qu'ils ont imposé aux populations écrasées et ruinées, et plusieurs mois après le triomphe de la révolution, la presse fonctionait aux Cayes au profit de Domingue et consorts.— Ils ont accusé Salnave d'avoir soulevé les Piquets pour piller, assassiner et incendier; ils se sont

servis eux des *Cacos,* les rebuts de la société pour tout oser. Tous les chefs de la révolution et ceux qui y ont pris une part directe, étaient des hommes accablés de dettes ou de misérables désœuvrés; ils possédent tous en ce moment des fortunes inmenses. Quel est le travail qu'ils ont fait pour être riches en si peu de temps tandisque toutes les familles qui étaient dans l'aisance sont aujour d'hui ruinées et ont vendu leurs derniers bijoux á Kingston et á St. Thomas, jusqu'a leurs meubles et leurs matelas pour vivre dans ces moments de désastres civils! Evidemment ces fortunes ne sont que les produits des pillages et des assassinats, car â Jacmel, les membres du Comité de cette ville, n'ont pas reculé devant le crime de démolir les maisons, d'enlever les marbres et les pierres, qu'ils ont envoyés vendre à Kingston à leur profit. Ils ont donné des permis aux citoyens pour l'étranger pour avoir de l'argent, et aussi tôt leur départ ils ont fait saisir et vendre leurs propriétés,– qu'ils se sont adjugés. Un jour quand le pays sera libre pour juger les actes des deux partis, l'on verra de quel côté a été l'infamie.

Ces reformateurs de l'avenir du pays, ces hommes de *grands principes moraux, ces politiques ingénieux* ne s'arrètent pas dans leurs moyens de *civilisation*– ils arrivent dans la capitale du pays,– ils ont triomphé, par la trahison et Salnave et son parti sont abattus. Mais pour être conséquents avec leurs précédents, il faut qu'ils laissent partout les traces de leur destruction.

La Ville et les postes étaient en leur pouvoir. Salnave était au palais national avec quelques uns de ses amis presque dans l'impossibilite de se défendre; dans quelques heures il allait envoyer son abdication, mais l'infame Brice est pressé d'en finir.– Que lui importe le passé et l'avenir d'un peuple? Ses ancêtres n'ont point vécu dans ce passé, il lui faillait tout détruire tout anéantir pour être quelque chose dans cet avenir.–Hélas! bien sombre aujourd'hui. Brice est pressé disons- nous, il a encore peur d'un retour de fortune pour Salnave, il accourt chez Mr. Saint-John, Consul Anglais qui met â sa disposition des artilleurs *Anglais* d'un navire de guerre dans ce moment en rade, il fait embosser le bâtiment de guerre haïtien "La Terreur" contre le palais national, le seul édifice dans lequel la génération présente allait contempler les traits sublimes des héros de notre Indépendance.

Ce palais fut impitoyablement bombardé et incendié, par ordre de Brice–ainé, digne imitateur de Geffrard, dirigeant les *pointeurs anglais,*– celui-ci, sur la ville du Cap celui–là sur le Port-au-Prince.

Pourquoi cette destruction inutile? Pourquoi tous ces actes de brutale sauvagerie? Cependant là dans ce palais étaient installés majestueusement dans le Salon de Mars; les portraits de Dessalines, de Pétion, et de cinquante autres généraux de notre liberté; ceux de Grégoire, de Wilberforce, de Brissot et d'autres amis des noirs. Tous ces souvenirs que l'on a pu receuillir après un grand

travail et qui ont coûté des valeurs énormes, qui représentaient tout un passé et donnaient toute l'éspérance de l'avenir; toute cette histoire a disparu sous la passion sanguinaire et désordonnée d'un mauvais haïtien. O dignes et inimitables héros de notre indépendance, vos traits ne seront pas connus de nos enfants! .....

Le feu du palais et d'autres édifices environants fut communiqué a la ville, plus du tiers en fut détruit et des milliers de familles heureuses n'aguere furent réduites à demander leur pain et un abri. Vous vous êtes élévé, messieurs, sur ces débris; le sang innocent, la misère des veuves et des orphelins sont aujourd'hui les candelabres de votre grandeur,– mais craignez que les cris de vos victimes ne font changer en Cyprès l'or qui vous décore.

N'est–ce pas ridicule; n'est-ce pas être ignoble, après avoir commis des actes de ce genre, après avoir pillé tous les cafés du monopole qui étaient dans la douâne, aprés se les avoir appropriés,— aprés avoir refusé de payer aux individus qui étaient porteurs des bons du trésor pour ces mêmes cafés qu'ils avaient livrés quelques jours auparavant en vertu de la Loi; aprés vous s'être enrichis des dépouilles de vos victimes, faire mettre hors la Loi des citoyens plus intéressés que vous Mrs. Brice et Dupont Jeune au bonheur de la patrie? de cette patrie qui est la leur dans le passé le présent et l'avenir, ordonner de tuer des hommes pour laver des crimes que vous seuls aviez commis. Oh! révolutionaires de 1868, vous avez proscrit et assassiné de bons citoyens au lieu de les faire juger; vous aviez eu peur de l'impartalité d'un jugement; car d'accusateurs vous seriez accusés; vous, vous trouveriez sur la sellette, et une bonne justice ferait du bourreau le condamné. Les révolutionnaires se déclarent pouvoir souverain,—ils livrent Salnave á ses ennemis personnels et il est lâchement assassiné par ses bourreaux; ils établissent des tribunaux exceptionnels pour assassiner et continuer plus promptement,—et pour mieux réussir d'attirer leurs victimes, ils font des actes *d'amnistie* qui ne sont que des pièges pour prendre des citoyens désignés a leur vengeance.

Mr. Brice donne ordre â son ami Boileau Laforet *dépurer* de puis Leogane jusqu'á Aquin, de tous ceux qui l'avaient combattu, Boileau commence son œuvre á Léogane il y fait arréter plusieurs citoyens inoffensifs et il continue avec ses citoyens á la tête d'un detachement pour Grand--Goave; en chemin il ordonne à ses soldats, de faire tomber le chapeau de chaque individu partiellement et á chaque fois qu'un se baisse pour le ramasser sa tête est abattue d'un coup de sabre. Ce genre de tuerie continue jusqu'a St Michel, déjà le nombre des victimes, avait atteint 49 lors qu'un cri d'indignation fut poussé par quelques âmes charitables, alors seulement Nissage envoya chercher en toute hâte Boileau, qui fut mis en prison et remis en liberté le lendemain après l'exhibition de l'ordre de Brice. Cependant les victimes avaient été pillés et leurs dépouilles restent acquises á leurs bourreaux et ses complices.

Nissage le chef de la révolution, dont la prudence avait retardé de se faire connaitre dans le crime, Nissage qui dans le doute du triomphe s'était reservé les circonstances attenuantes, est appelé au Port-au-Prince par Brice, il y arrive, il n'a plus rien á craindre, il faut qu'il se manifeste dans la Capitale du pays par un acte de grande solidarité avec ses, énergiques complicess, pour que sa nomination á la présidence fut assurée. Il signe san discussion un décret de *mis hors la loi* contre 30 officiers superieurs qu'il suppose être avec Salnave. Plusieurs de ces officiers étaient en ville vaquant á leurs affaires ordinaires, la plupart munis de sauf-conduits des chefs révolutionnaires. Ils demandent des juges, on les repond par la création d'un Tribunal révolutionnaire, présidé par un Lorquet, dont la gloire et le bonheur sont de marcher dans le sang.

Le Tribunal revolutionnaire ordonne froidement l'assassinat de Salnave après une comédie de jugement qui eut lieu dans l'espace de deux heures où le patient eut á supporter les plus amères vexations, notamment du nommé Théomar Boisrond Canal. Il est vrai que cette mort avait été déjà resolue dans le Gouvernement qui avait passé toute une journée et une nuit en déliberation pour savoir comment l'appliquer, si c'est la pendaison, le feu ou l'eau. Quelques jours après le même tribunal se réunit pour juger 70 personnes y compris plusieurs femmes; il condamne plusieurs á la peine de mort, Nissage fait exécuter ceux qu'il veut et il commue la peine de plusieurs généraux en travaux forcés à perpétuité. Vous n'aviez pas eu peur Général Nissage, de commuer en déshonneur, en infamie en travaux forcés â perpetuité la peine infligée sans droit ni qualité par votre tribunal revolutionnaire, présidé par le trop célèbre Lorquet, aux généraux de l'armée Haïtienne, d'aprés une accusation, dénuée de tout sens calomniatrice et diffamante; que la petitesse de votre imagination etla mauvaise foi de vos adhérents ont inventé et qu'ils n'ont pas cru eux-mêmes. L'on peut mourir innocent sous une peine afflictive et infamante, mais l'on ne peut pas vivre innocent avec le mépris– de misérables criminels triomphants! En agissant ainsi, vous n'avez pas eu craint de l'avenir? En effet, votre esprit est trop étroit pour le juger et cependant, il se dresse deja devant vous. Vous êtes vieux, que vous importe demain? vous n'avez pas d'enfants votre esprit est en désarroi, mais vos complices..... ils devraient reflêchir avant de vous conseiller de tels enormitrés.

La Constitution devient une lettre morte; les révolutionnaires se sont emparés du pouvoir ils ne désirent plus s'en déssaisir, le sang qu'ils ont fait couler et qu'ils font couler encore les aveugle,– ils y sont embourbés, il faut qu'ils continuent jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient étouffés par l'odeur fétide que cette mare infecte doit faire réjaillir sur eux. La pureté de l'innocent s'ouvrira sur eux en-Cyprès.

Revolutionnaires de 1868, vous avez violé plus impitoyable

ment que vos prédécesseurs la Loi fondamentale de votre pays; comme vos prédécesseurs vous avez manqué de courage, comme eux vous avez tremblé devant un ignorant ambitieux qui vous a imposé sa candidature, comme eux vous avez laissé trôner sur le pays un être incapable, qui une fois s'était couvert du manteau du désintéressement par la peur qu'il avait de Salnave en refusant la présidence qu'une coterie de mauvaise foi voulait lui donner; vous avez de nouveau livré la destinée de votre pays entre les mains de *l'ignorance, de la folie, de la bigoterie et de la faiblesse;* et quand l'avenir sombre et désastreux s'offrira à vous ne vous en plaignez pas.— Vous avez assassiné sans crainte de l'avenir– vous avez manqué de courage morale dans le maniement des finances.—Vous avez compromis la nationalité haïtienne par cette conduite désordonnée.— Vous avez fait du mal à votre race dans tout le Globe. "Nissage, Président d'Haïti, c'est la révolution sur la selette; assez de chefs igorants et incapables au gouvernement!"

Révolutionnaires vous avez méconnu la gloire qui vous était reservée, vous avez dédaigné le jugement de la postérité, vos sentiments n'ont pas été à la hauteur de la dignité d'hommes, vous avez été aveuglés par vos passions, vos haines et vos vengeances— et les petites ambitions des âmes sans élèvation qui méconnaissent les principes sacrés de vérité et d'humanité. "Il n'y a rien de plus sacré qu'un principe; le bien hors les principes, c'est le mal."

Pour vous autres révolutionnaires haïtiens, les principes moraux et politiques, sont mensonges, haines et vengeances ; aucune vérité, aucun sentiment d'amour de la patrie ne vous animent pas; arretez–vous dans cette voie funeste, substituez à la place du vice, de l'arbitraire, du despotisme de l'ignorance et du mensonge , les principes de droit, de justice, de vérité, et de liberté qui sont immuables; refléchissez que depuis notre indépendance tous ces bouleversements, tous ces changements de gouvernements ne vous ont produit que misères et mépris; tous les peuples ont fait des révolutions pour édifier, mais vous les faites pour détruire; d'autres peuples plus jeunes que vous, se sont formés à l'ombre de la paix, ils grandissent et font des progrès dans le siècle, tandis que vous restez encore dans les langes de l'enfance et du crime; les grands peuples du Globe, posent la question á savoir, si vous ne devez pas être remis en tutelle ou être absorbé.

Oh! honte, pour vous; malheur et malédiction, si vous ne faites pas des efforts pour sauvegarder votre nationalité que tous les hommes noirs et jaunes ont droit de vous en demander compte.

Repoussez de la candidature à votre Gonvernement les *ignorants* et soyez forts pour combattre la mauvaise foi et l'ambition individuelle: e'est le moyen de conjurer l'orage qui vous menace et de marcher vers un avenir meilleur.

X.....

A TREATISE

ON THE

INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER,

AND

CIVIL AND POLITICAL CONDITION

OF THE

COLORED PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES;

AND THE

PREJUDICE EXERCISED TOWARDS THEM:

WITH A SERMON

ON THE

DUTY OF THE CHURCH TO THEM.

BY REV. H. EASTON,
A COLORED MAN.

BOSTON:
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PREFACE.

It is with diffidence that I offer this treatise to the public; but an earnest desire to contribute my mite, for the benefit of my afflicted brethren, is my only apology. The subject is one of peculiar difficulty; especially as it is one in which I am deeply interested.

To speak or write on a subject relating to one's self, is peculiarly embarrassing; and especially so, under a deep sense of injury.

As an apology for the frequent errors that may occur in the following pages, I would remark: It cannot be reasonably expected, that a literary display could adorn the production of one from whom popular sentiment has withheld almost every advantage, even of a common education.

If this work should chance to fall into the hands of any whose minds are so sordid, and whose hearts are so inflexible, as to load it, with its author, with censure on that account merely, I would only say to them, that I shall not be disposed to envy them in the enjoyment of their sentiments, while I endeavor to content myself in the enjoyment of a consciousness of having done what I could to effect the establishment of righteousness and peace in the earth.

Hartford, Ct., March, 1837.

INTRODUCTION.

I conclude that, by this time, one great truth is acknowledged by all Christendom, viz.—God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. Or, in other words, I conclude it is a settled point with the wisest of the age, that no constitutional difference exists in the children of men, which can be said to be established by hereditary laws. If the proposition be granted, it will follow, that whatever differences exist, are casual or accidental. The variety of color, in the humun species, is the result of the same laws which variegate the whole creation. The same species of flowers is variegated with innumerable colors; and yet the species is the same, possessing the same general qualities, undergoing no intrinsic change, from these accidental causes. So it is with the human species. These varieties are indispensable, for the distinction of different objects, throughout the whole range of creation.

The hair is subject to the same laws of variety with the skin, though it may be considered in a somewhat different light. Were I asked why my hair is curled, my answer would be, because God gave nature the gift of producing variety, and that gift, like uncontrolled power every where, was desirous to act like itself; and thus being influenced by some cause unknown to man, she turned out her work in the form of my hair; and on being influenced by some other cause, she turned out hair of different texture, and gave it to another man. This would be the best answer I could give; for it is impossible for man to comprehend nature or her works. She has been supplied with

an ability by her author to do wonders, insomuch that some have been foolish enough to think her to be God. All must confess she possesses a mysterious power to produce variety. We need only visit the potato and corn patch, (not a costly school,) and we shall be perfectly satisfied; for there, in the same hill, on one stalk, sprung from one potato, you may find several of different colors; and upon the same corn-stalk you may find two ears, one white or yellow, and the other deep red; and sometimes you may find an astonishing variety of colors displayed on one ear among the kernels; and what makes the observation more delightful, they are never found quarrelling about their color, though some have shades of extreme beauty. If you go to the field of grass, you will find that all grass is the same grass in variety; go to the herds and flocks, and among the feathered tribe, or view nature where you will, she tells us all that we can know, why it is that one man's head bears woolly, and another flaxen hair.

But when we come to talk about intellectual differences, we are brought into a new field of investigation. I call it a new or another field, because I cannot believe that nature has any thing to do in variegating intellect, any more than it has power over the soul. Mind can act on matter, but matter cannot act upon mind; hence it fills an entirely different sphere; therefore, we must look for a cause of difference of intellect elsewhere, for it cannot be found in nature. In looking for a cause, we have no right to go above nor below the sphere which the mind occupies; we cannot rationally conceive the cause to originate with God, nor in matter. Nature never goes out of her own limits to produce her works; all of which are perfect so far as she is concerned, and most assuredly God's works are perfect; hence, whatever imperfections there are in the mind, must have originated within its own sphere. But the question is, what is the cause and the manner it affects? Originally there was no difference of intellect, either constitutional or casual. Man was perfect, and therefore to him there was no exception. After he fell, we immediately find a difference of mind. In Abel we find characteristics of a noble soul, a prolific mind; his under-

standing appears to have been but very little, if any, impaired by the fall. But in Cain we find quite the reverse. His mind appears to have been narrow—his understanding dark—having wrapped himself up in a covetous mantle as contemptible as his conduct was wicked.

Now I see no reason why the causes of difference do not exist in the fall—in the act of transgression ; for certain it is that the mind has since been subject to the influence of every species of evil, which must be a secondary cause to the existing effect. Or the subject may be viewed in the following light, viz. : evil and good exist in the world, and as the mind is influenced by the one or the other, so is the different effect produced thereby.

There is no truth more palpable than this, that the mind is capable of high cultivation ; and that the degree of culture depends entirely on the means or agents employed to that end. In a country, therefore, where public sentiment is formed in favor of improving the mind, whatever the object may be, whether to promote good or evil, the mind is influenced thereby. The practical exercise of the mind is essential also to improvement and growth, and is directed likewise by public sentiment.

Public sentiment is founded on the real or imaginary interests of parties, whose individual interests are identified one with another. Public sentiment itself is directed in the exercise of its influence, by incidental circumstances, either local or foreign. In this current the mind is borne along, and at the instance of every change of event, is called to a new exercise of thought, conclusions, purposes, &c. ; whereas, had it not been for the change, there would have been no action produced in the mind : for it is manifest, that the sphere which mankind are destined to fill, is surrounded with a great variety of acting laws, which, were it not for such causes, would make their minds entirely passive ; but, under the influence of those causes, they are made to act not from constraint, but in accordance with an innate desire to avail themselves of collateral aid to their operations. It is manifest, therefore, that the more varying or complex the state of a people is incidentally rendered, the more power there is extant to call up renewed energies of the mind, the direct

tendency of which is to confirm and strengthen it. Hence I deem it a fair conclusion, that whatever differences there are in the power of the intellect of nations, they are owing to the difference existing in the casual laws by which they are influenced. By consulting the history of nations, it may be seen that their genius perfectly accords with their habits of life, and the general maxims of their country; and that these habits and maxims possess a sameness of character with the incidental circumstances in which they originated.

As the intellect of a particular class will be in part the subject of this treatise, I wish in this place to follow the investigation of national difference of intellect, with its cause, by comparing the history of Europe and Africa.

Ham was the son of Noah, and founder of the African race, and progenitor to Assur, who probably founded the first government after the flood. It is evident from the best authority extant, that the arts and sciences flourished among this branch of the great family of man, long before its benefits were known to any other. History is explicit with regard to their hospitality also. At an early period of the existence of the government of Egypt, and while Chederlaomer, king of the Elamites, had already commenced the practice of robbery and bloodshed, Abraham was obliged by a famine to leave Canaan, where God had commanded him to settle, and to go into Egypt. 'This journey,' says a historian, 'gives occasion for Moses to mention some particulars with regard to the Egyptians; and every stroke discovers the character of an improved and powerful nation. The Egyptian monarch, and the grandeur of his court, are described in the most glowing colors;—and Ham, who led the colony into Egypt, has become the founder of a mighty empire. We are not, however, to imagine, that all the laws which took place in Egypt, and which have been so justly admired for their wisdom, were the work of this early age. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer, mentions many successive princes, who labored for their establishment and perfection. But in the time of Jacob, first principles of civil government seem to have been tolerably understood among the Egyptians. The country was divided into

several districts or separate departments; councils, composed of experienced and select persons, were established for the management of public affairs; granaries for preserving corn were erected; and, in fine, the Egyptians in this age enjoyed a commerce far from inconsiderable. These facts, though of an ancient date, deserve our particular attention. It is from the Egyptians, that many of the arts, both of elegance and ability, have been handed down in an uninterrupted chain, to modern nations of Europe. The Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks; the Greeks taught the Romans many improvements, both in the arts of peace and war; and to the Romans, the present inhabitants of Europe are indebted for their civility and refinement.'

This noble people were not content with the enjoyment of luxury and ease, to the exclusion of their neighbors. At an early period they are found carrying the blessings of civilization into Greece; and, although repulsed in their first attempt by the rude barbarity of the Greeks, yet their philanthropy soon inspired them to resume the enterprise, which resulted in the settlement of two colonies, one in Argos, and the other in Attica. The founders of these colonies succeeded in their endeavors to unite the wandering Greeks, which laid a foundation for the instructions they afterwards gave them. Sesostris, a prince of wonderful ability, is supposed to mount the throne of Egypt about 2341 years before Christ. Egypt in his time, it is said, was in all probability the most powerful kingdom upon earth, and according to the best calculation, is supposed to contain twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. From the reign of Sesostris to that of Boccharis, a term of near 800 years, but little is known of the princes who reigned, but it is believed from collateral evidence, that the country in that time continued in a very flourishing condition, and for aught that is known, enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Wars and commotions, (says an eminent writer,) are the greatest themes of the historian, while the gentle and happy reign of a wise prince passes unobserved and unrecorded. During this period of quietude at home, Egypt continued to pour forth her colonies into distant nations. Ath-

ens, that seat of learning and politeness, that school for all who aspired after wisdom, owes its foundation to Cecrops, who landed in Greece, with an Egyptian colony, before Christ 1585. The institutions which he established among the Athenians gave rise to the spread of the morals, arts and sciences in Greece, which have since shed their lustre upon Rome, Europe, and America.

From the reign of Boccharis to the dissolution of their government, the Egyptians are celebrated for the wisdom of their laws and political institutions, which were dictated by the true spirit of civil wisdom. It appears that this race of people, during their greatest prosperity, made but very little proficiency in the art of war. We hear of but little of their conquests of armies, which is an evidence of their being an unwarlike people.

On taking a slight view of the history of Europe, we find a striking contrast. Javan, the third from Noah, and son of Japhet, is the stock from whom all the people known by the name of Greeks are descended. Javan established himself in the islands on the Western coast of Asia Minor. It is supposed, and it may not be impossible, that a few wanderers would escape over into Europe. Who would believe, says a writer, that the Greeks, who in latter ages became the patterns of politeness and every elegant art, were descended from a savage race of men, traversing the woods and wilds, inhabiting the rocks and caverns, a wretched prey to wild beasts and to one another. I would here remark that it is a little singular that modern philosophers, the descendants of this race of savages, should claim for their race a superiority of intellect over those who, at that very time, were enjoying all the real benefits of civilized life.

The remnant of this race which found their way to Europe from Asia Minor, are brought into notice but very little until after Rome had conquered the world. On the decline of that empire, from the death of Theodosius the great, A. D. 395 to A. D. 571, all Europe exhibited a picture of most melancholy Gothic barbarity. Literature, science, taste, were words scarce in use from this period to the sixteenth century. Persons of the highest rank could not read or write. Many of the clergy

did not understand the learning which they were obliged daily to write; some of them could scarce read it.

The Goths and Vandals, and other fierce tribes, who were scattered over the vast countries of the North of Europe and Northwest of Asia, were drawn from their homes by a thirst for blood and plunder. Great bodies of armed men, with their wives and children, issued forth like regular colonies in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. These in their turn, pushed into more fertile countries, and like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them.

Wherever the barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred and what was profane. They respected no age, or sex, or rank. If man was called upon, (says an eminent historian,) to fix upon the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitious and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from A. D. 395 to 511. Cotemporary authors, who beheld that scene of destruction, labor and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons or Germans were masters of the Southern and more fertile provinces of Britain: the Franks, another tribe of Germans; the Goths of Spain; the Goths and Lombards of Italy, and the adjacent provinces.

During the period above mentioned, European slavery was introduced. Having, as yet, the art of navigation but very imperfectly, it seemed to be the whole bent of their mind to enslave each other.

A form of government, distinguished by the name of the Feudal system, was one under which the leaders of these barbarians became intolerable. They reduced the great body of

them to actual servitude. They were slaves fixed to the soil, and with it transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale, or by conveyance. The kindred and dependants of an aggressor, as well as of a defender, were involved in a quarrel, without even the liberty of remaining neuter, whenever their superiors saw fit.

The king or general to whom they belonged, would lead them on to conquest, parcel out the land of the vanquished among his chief officers, binding those on whom they were bestowed, to follow his standard with a number of men, and to bear arms in his defence. The chief officers imitated the example of their sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same conditions to the grant.

For the smallest pretext they would make war with one another, and lead their slaves on to conquest; and take the land and goods of their foes as the reward of their enterprise. This system existed in the highlands in Scotland, as late as the year 1156.

It is not a little remarkable, that in the nineteenth century a remnant of this same barbarous people should boast of their national superiority of intellect, and of wisdom and religion; who, in the seventeenth century, crossed the Atlantic and practised the same crime their barbarous ancestry had done in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries: bringing with them the same boasted spirit of enterprise; and not unlike their fathers, staining their route with blood, as they have rolled along, as a cloud of locusts, towards the West. The late unholy war with the Indians, and the wicked crusade against the peace of Mexico, are striking illustrations of the nobleness of this race of people, and the powers of their mind. I will here take a brief review of the events following each race from their beginning.

Before Christ 2188, Misraim, the son of Ham, founded the kingdom of Egypt, which lasted 1633 years.

2059, Ninus, the son of Belus, another branch of Ham's family, founds the kingdom of Assyria, which lasted 1000 years, and out of its ruins Babylon, Ninevah, and the kingdom of the Medes.

1822, Memnon, the Egyptian, invents the letters.

1571, Moses born in Egypt, and adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, who educated him in all the learning of the Egpytians.

1556, Cecrops brings a colony from Egypt into Attica, and begins the kingdom of Athens, in Greece.

1485, The first ship that appeared in Greece was brought from Egypt by Danaus, who arrived at Rhodes, and brought with him his fifty daughters.

869, The city of Carthage, in Africa, founded by queen Dido.

604, By order of Necho, king of Egypt, some Phenicians, sailed from the Red Sea round Africa, and returned by the Mediterranean.

600, Thales, of Miletus, travels to Egypt, to acquire the knowledge of geometry, astronomy, and philosophy; returns to Greece and calculates eclipses, gives general notions of the universe, &c.

285, Dionysius, of Alexandria, began his astronomical era, on Monday, June 26, being the first who found the exact solar year to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes.

284, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, employs seventy-two interpreters to translate the Old Testament into the Greek language, which was called the Septuagint.

237, Hamilcar, the Carthagenian, causes his son Hannibal, at nine years of age, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.

218, Hannibal passes the Alps, at the age of 28 years, and defeats the Romans in several battles.

47, The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books burned by accident.

30, Alexandria is taken by Octavius, upon which Mark Antony and Cleopatra, put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

640, A. .D, Alexandria is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet, and the grand library burned by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.

991, The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia. [Poor negroes, I wonder where they

got learning. These are the race of people who are charged with an inferiority of intellect.]

Africa could once boast of several states of eminence, among which are Egypt, Ethiopia, and Carthage; the latter supported an extensive commerce, which was extended to every part of the then known world. Her fleets even visited the British shores, and was every where prosperous, until she was visited with the scourge of war, which opened the way for those nations whose life depended on plunder. The Romans have the honor, by the assistance of the Mauritonians, of subduing Carthage; after which the North of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, who, in their march destroyed all arts and sciences; and, to add to the calamity of this quarter of the world, the Saracens made a sudden conquest of all the coasts of Egypt and Barbary, in the seventh century. And these were succeeded by the Turks, both being of the Mahomedan religion, whose professors carried desolation wherever they went; and thus the ruin of that once flourishing part of the world was completed. Since that period, Africa has been robbed of her riches and honor, and sons and daughters, to glut the rapacity of the great minds of European bigots.

The following is a short chronological view of the events following the rise of the Europeans.

A. D. 49, London is founded by the Romans.

51, Caractacus, the British king is carried in chains to Rome.

59, Nero persecutes the Druids in Britain.

61, The British queen defeats the Romans, but is conquered soon after by Suetonius, governor of Britain.

63, Christianity introduced into Britain.

85, Julius Agricola, governor of South Britain, to protect the civilized Britons from the incursions of the Caledonians, builds a line of forts between the rivers Forth and Clyde; defeats the Caledonians; and first sails round Britain, which he discovers to be an island.

222, About this time the barbarians begin their eruptions and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the Roman government.

274, The art of manufacturing silk first introduced into Britain from India; the manufacturing of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551.

404, The kingdom of Caledonia, or Scotland, revives under Fergus.

406, The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi spread in France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.

410, Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of visi-Goths.

412, The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.

446, The Romans having left the Britons to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, they make their complaints to Rome again, which they entitle, the groans of the Britons.

449, The Saxons join the Britons against the Scots and Picts.

455, Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts begin to establish themselves in Kent under Hengist.

476, Several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.

496, Clovis, king of France, baptized, and christianity begins in that kingdom.

508, Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.

609, Here begins the power of the Pope by the concession of Phocas, emperor of the east.

685, The Britons, after a struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and drove into Wales and Cornwall.

712, The Saracens conquer Spain.

726, The controversy about images occasions many insurrections.

800, Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, and endeavors to restore learning.

838, The Scots and Picts have a hard fight. The former prevail.

867, The Danes begin their ravages in England.

896, Alfred the Great fought 56 battles with the invading

Danes, after which he divides his kingdom into counties, hundreds, tythings; erects courts: and founds the University of Oxford.

936, The Saracen empire is divided into seven kingdoms, by usurpation.

1015, Children forbidden by law to be sold by their parents, in England.

1017, Canute, king of Denmark, gets possession of England.

1040, The Danes after much hard fighting are driven out of Scotland.

1041, The Saxon line restored under Edward.

1043, The Turks who had hitherto fought for other nations, have become formidable, and take possession of Persia.

1059, Malcolm III. king of Scotland, kills Macbeth, and marries the princess Margaret.

1065, The Turks take Jerusalem.

1066, The conquest of England by William; who

1070, introduced the feudal law.

1075, Henry IV, emperor of Germany, and the Pope, have a quarrel. Henry, in penance walks barefoot in January.

1096, The first crusade to the Holy Land is begun, under several Christian princes, to drive the infidels from Jerusalem.

1118, The order of knight templras instituted.

1172, Henry II, king of England, takes possession of Ireland.

1182, Pope Alexander III, compels the kings of France and England, to hold the stirrups of his saddle when he mounted his horse.

1192, Richard, king of England, defeats Saladin's army, consisting of 300,000 combatants.

1200, Chimnies not known in England.

1227, The Tartars emerge from the Northern part of Asia, and in imitation of former conquerers, carry death and desolation wherever they march. They overrun all the Saracen empire.

1233, Theinquisition began; 1204, is now in the hands of the Dominicans.

1258, The Tartars take Bagdad, which finishes the empire of the Saracens.

1263, Acho, king of Norway, invades Scotland with 160 sail, and lands 20,000 men at the mouth of the Clyde, who were cut to pieces by Alexander III.

1273, The empire of the present Austrian family begins in Germany.

1282, Lewellyn, prince of Wales, defeated and killed by Edward I., who unites that principality to England.

1314, Battle between Edward II, and Robert Bruce, which establishes the latter on the throne of Scotland.

1340, Gunpowder and guns first invented by Swartz. 1346, Bombs and four pieces of cannon were made, by which Edward III. gained the battle of Cressy.

1346, The battle of Durham, in which David, king of Scots, is taken prisoner.

1356, The battle of Poictiers, in which king John of France and his son are taken prisoners by Edward, the black prince.

1362, John Wickliffe calls in question the doctrines of the church of Rome, whose followers are called Lollards.

1388, The battle of Otterburn between Hotspur and the Earl of Douglas.

1415, Battle gained over the French by Henry V. of England.

1428, The siege of Orleans.

1453, Constantinople taken by the Turks.

1483, Civil war ended between the house of York and Lancaster, after a siege of 30 years, and the loss of 100,000 men.

1489, Maps and sea charts first brought to England.

1492, America first discovered by Columbus.

1494, Algebra first known in Europe.

1497, South America first discovered.

1499, North America by Cabot.

1517, Martin Luther begins the reformation.

1616, The first permanent settlement in Virginia.

1621, New England planted by the Puritans.

1635, Province of Maryland planted by Lord Baltimore.

1640, The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants are killed.

1649, Charles I. beheaded.

1664, The New Netherlands in North America, taken from the Swedes and Dutch by the English.

1667, The peace of Breda, which confirms to the English the New Netherlands, now known by names of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.

The object I have in introducing this account of events, attendant on the rise and progress of the African and European nations, is, that the traits of their national character may at a glance be discovered; by which the reader may the better judge of the superiority of the descendants of Japhet over those of Ham. In the first place, the European branch of Japhet's family have but very little claims to the rank of civilized nations. From the fourth up to the sixteenth century, they were in the deepest state of heathenish barbarity. A continual scene of bloodshed and robbery was attendant on the increase of their numbers. Their spread over different countries caused almost an entire extinction of all civil and religious governments, and of the liberal arts and sciences. And even since that period, all Europe and America have been little else than one great universal battle field.

It is true, there is a great advance in the arts and sciences from where they once were; but whether they are any where near its standard, as they once existed in Africa, is a matter of strong doubt. We should without doubt, had not the Europeans destroyed every vestige of history, which fell in their barbarous march, been favored with an extensive and minute history of the now unknown parts of Africa. Certain it is, however, that whatever they may have contributed of knowledge to the world, it is owing to these casual circumstances we have mentioned, rather than any thing peculiar to them as a people.

Any one who has the least conception of true greatness, on comparing the two races by means of what history we have, must decide in favor of the descendants of Ham. The Egyptians alone have done more to cultivate such improvements as comports to the happiness of mankind, than all the descendants of Japhet put together. Their enterprise in establishing colo-

nies and governments among their barbarous neighbors, and supplying their wants from their granaries, instead of taking the advantage of their ignorance, and robbing them of what little they had, does not look much like an inferiority of intellect, nor a want of disposition to make a proper use of it. They, at no age, cultivated the art of war to any great extent. Neither are they found making an aggressive war with any nation. But, while other nations were continually robbing and destroying each other, they were cultivating internal improvement; and virtually became a storehouse of every thing conducive to the happiness of mankind, with which she supplied their wants. Even as late as Carthage was in her glory, that race of people exhibited their original character. For that famed city never acquired its greatness, but by the cultivation of commerce. And though she obtained command of both sides of the Mediterranean, became mistress of the sea, made the islands of Corsica and Sardinia tributary to her, yet it is evident she acquired this advantage by her wealth, rather than by her arms.

Europe and America presents quite a different spectacle. There is not a foot of God's earth which is now occupied by them, but has been obtained, in effect, by the dint of war, and the destruction of the vanquished, since the founding of London, A. D. 49. Their whole career presents a motley mixture of barbarism and civilization, of fraud and philanthropy, of patriotism and avarice, of religion and bloodshed. And notwithstanding many great and good men have lived and died bright luminaries of the world—and notwithstanding there are many now living who are the seed of the church, yet it must be admitted that almost every nation in Europe, and especially Americans, retain, in principle, if not in manners, all the characteristics of their barbarous and avaricious ancestors. And instead of their advanced state in science being attributable to a superior developement of intellectual faculties, there is nothing more capable of proof, than that it is solely owing to the nature of the circumstances into which they were drawn by their innate thirst for blood and plunder.

Had the inhabitants of Egypt, Ethiopia, Carthage, and other

kingdoms in Africa, been possessed with the same disposition, the probability is, that the world now would be in a heathenish darkness, for the want of that information which their better disposition has been capable of producing. And had they had the means at that early age of understanding human nature, as they now would have, were their kingdoms in their glory, they would probably not have suffered their liberality to be taken advantage of by a barbarous crew around them. It is not for the want of mind, therefore, that Africa is in her present state; for were the dispositions of her different nations like the ancient barbarians of Europe, they would soon make a plenty of business for Europeans, with all their advantages, to defend themselves against their depredations. But it is not the genius of the race. Nothing but liberal, generous principles, can call the energies of an African mind into action. And when these principles are overruled by a foreign cause, they are left without any thing to inspire them to action, other than the cravings of their animal wants.

Africa never will raise herself, neither will she be raised by others, by warlike implements, or ardent spirits; nor yet by a hypocritical religious crusade, saying one thing and meaning another. But when she rises, other nations will have learned to deal justly with her from principle. When that time shall arrive, the lapse of a few generations will show the world that her sons will again take the lead in the field of virtuous enterprise, filling the front ranks of the church, when she marches into the millennial era.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In this country we behold the remnant of a once noble, but now heathenish people. In calling the attention of my readers to the subject which I here present them, I would have them lose sight of the African character, about which I have made some remarks in my introduction. For at this time, circumstances have established as much difference between them and their ancestry, as exists between them and any other race or nation. In the first place the colored people who are born in this country, are Americans in every sense of the word. Americans by birth, genius, habits, language, &c. It is supposed, and I think not without foundation, that the slave population labor under an intellectual and physical disability or inferiority. The justness of these conclusions, however, will apply only to such as have been subject to slavery some considerable length of time.

I have already made some remarks with regard to the cause of apparent differences between nations. I shall have cause to remark again, that as the intellectual as well as the physical properties of mankind, are subject to cultivation, I have observed that the growth or culture depends materially on the means employed to that end. In those countries in which the maxims and laws are such as are calculated to employ the physical properties mostly, such as racing, hunting, &c., there is uniformly a full development of physical properties. We will take the American Indian for example. A habit of indolence produces a contrary effect. History, as well as experience, will justify me in saying that a proper degree of exercise is essential to the growth of the corporeal system; and that the form and size depends on the extent and amount of exercise. On

comparing one who is brought up from his youth a tradesman, with one who is brought up a farmer, the difference is manifestly apparent according to the difference of their exercise. Change of public sentiment indirectly affects the form and size of whole nations, inasmuch as public sentiment dictates the mode and kind of exercise. The muscular yeomanry who once formed a majority of our country's population, are now but seldom found; those who fill their places in society, in no way compare with them in that respect. Compare our farmer's daughters, who have been brought up under the influence of country habits, with those brought up under city habits, and a difference is most manifest.

But there is another consideration worthy of notice. Education, says D. D. Hunter,* on the part of the mother, commences from the moment she has the prospect of being a mother. And her own health thenceforth is the first duty she owes to her child. The instructions given to the wife of Manoah, and mother of Sampson, the Nazarite, (Jud. 13, 4:) 'Now, therefore, beware, I pray thee, drink not wine nor strong drink, and eat not any unclean thing,' are not merely arbitrarily adapted only to a particular branch of political economy, and intended to serve local and temporary purposes; no, the constitutions of nature, reason, and experience, which unite in recommending to those who have the prospect of being mothers, a strict attention to diet, to exercise, to temper, to every thing, which affecting the frame of their own body or mind, may communicate an important, a lasting, perhaps indelible impression, to the mind or body of their offspring. A proper regimen for themselves, is therefore the first stage of education for their children. The neglect of it is frequently found productive of effects which no future culture is able to alter or rectify.

These most just remarks confirm me in the opinion, that the laws of nature may be crossed by the misconduct or misfortune of her who has the prospect of being a mother. Apply these remarks to the condition of slave mothers, as such, and what are the plain and natural inferences to be drawn. Certainly, if they are entitled to any weight at all, the intellectual and physical inferiority of the slave population can be accounted for without imputing it to an original hereditary cause. Contemplate the exposed condition of slave mothers—their continual subjection to despotism and barbarity; their minds proscribed to the narrow bounds of servile obedience, subject to irritation from every

* Hunter's Sacred Biography, vol. 7. page 10.

quarter; great disappointment, and physical suffering themselves, and continual eye-witnesses to maiming and flagellation; shrieks of wo borne to their ears on every wind. Indeed, language is lame in the attempt to describe the condition of those poor daughters of affliction. Indeed, I have no disposition to dwell on the subject; to be obliged to think of it at all, is sufficiently harrowing to my feelings. But I would inquire how it can be possible for nature, under such circumstances, to act up to her perfect laws?

The approbrious terms used in common by most all classes, to describe the deformities of the offspring of these parents, is true in part, though employed with rather bad grace by those in whom the cause of their deformity originates. I will introduce those terms, not for the sake of embellishing my treatise with their modest style, but to show the lineal effects of slavery on its victims. Contracted and sloped foreheads; prominent eye-balls; projecting under-jaw; certain distended muscles about the mouth, or lower parts of the face; thick lips and flat nose; hips and rump projecting; crooked shins; flat feet, with large projecting heels. This, in part, is the language used by moderns to philosophize, upon the negro character. With regard to their mind, it is said that their intellectual brain is not fully developed; malicious disposition; no taste for high and honorable attainments; implacable enemies one to another; and that they sustain the same relation to the ourang outang, that the whites do to them.

Now, as it respects myself, I am perfectly willing to admit the truth of these remarks, as they apply to the character of a slave population; for I am aware that no language capable of being employed by mortal tongue, is sufficiently descriptive to set forth in its true character the effect of that cursed thing, slavery. I shall here be under the necessity of calling up those considerations connected with the subject, which I but a little time since entertained a hope that I should be able to pass by unnoticed; I have reference to a mother who is a slave, bringing into the world beings whose limbs and minds were lineally fashioned for the yoke and fetter, long before her own immortal mind was clothed in materiality.

I would ask my readers to think of woman as the greatest natural gift to man—think of her in delicate health, when the poor delicate fabric is taxed to the utmost to answer the demands of nature's laws—when friends and sympathies, nutricious aliments, and every other collateral aid is needed. O think of poor woman, a prospective mother; and when you think, feel

as a heart of flesh can feel; see her weeping eyes fixed alternately upon the object of her affections and him who accounts her a brute—think how she feels on beholding the gore streaming from the back, the naked back, of the former, while the latter wields the accursed lash, until the back of a husband, indeed the whole frame, has become like a loathsome heap of mangled flesh. How often has she witnessed the wielding club lay him prostrate, while the purple current followed the damning blow. How the rattling of the chain, the lock of which has worn his ancles and his wrists to the bone, falls upon her ear. O, has man fallen so far below the dignity of his original character, as not to be susceptible of feeling. But does the story stop here. I would that it were even so. But alas! this, the ornamental production of nature's God, is not exempt, even in this state, from the task of a slave. And, as though cursed by all the gods, her own delicate frame is destined to feel the cruel scourge. When faint and weary she lags her step, the overseer, as though decreed to be a tormenting devil, throws the coiling lash upon her naked back; and in turn, the master makes it his pleasure to despoil the works of God, by subjecting her to the rank of goods and chattels, to be sold in the shambles. Woman, you who possess a woman's nature, can feel for her who was destined by the Creator of you both, to fill the same sphere with yourself. You know by experience the claims of nature's laws—you know too well the irritability of your natures when taxed to the utmost to fulfil the decree of nature's God.

I have in part given a description of a mother that is a slave. And can it be believed to be possible for such a one to bring perfect children into the world. If we are permitted to decide that natural causes produce natural effects, then it must be equally true that unnatural causes produce unnatural effects. The slave system is an unnatural cause, and has produced its unnatural effects, as displayed in the deformity of two and a half millions of beings, who have been under its soul-and-body-destroying influence, lineally, for near three hundred years; together with all those who have died their progenitors since that period.

But again, I believe it to be an axiom generally admitted, that mind acts on matter, then again, that mind acts on mind; this being the case, is it a matter of surprise that those mothers who are slaves, should, on witnessing the distended muscles on the face of whipped slaves, produce the same or similar distensions on the face of her offspring, by her own mind being affected by the sight; and so with all other deformities. Like

causes produce like effects. If by Jacob's placing ring-streaked elder in the trough where Laban's flocks drank, caused their young to be ring-streaked and speckled, why should not the offspring of slave mothers, who are continually witnessing exciting objects, be affected by the same law; and why should they not be more affected, as the mother is capable of being more excited.

From the foregoing I draw the following conclusions, with regard to the different degrees of effect produced by slavery. Compare slaves that are African born, with those who are born in slavery, and the latter will in no wise compare with the former in point of form of person or strength of mind. The first and second generation born in this country are generally far before the fourth and fifth, in this respect. Compare such as have been house servants, as they are called, for several generations with such as have been confined to plantations the same term of time, and there will be a manifest inferiority in the latter. Observe among the nominally free, their form of person, features, strength of mind, and bent of genius, fidelity, &c., and it will evidently appear that they who sustain a relation of no further than the third generation from African birth, are in general far before those who sustain a more distant relation. The former generally acquire small possessions, and conform their habits of life and modes of operation with those common where they live, while those who have been enslaved for several generations, or whose progenitors in direct line were thus enslaved, cannot be induced to conform to any regular rule of life or operation. I intend this last statement as general fact, of which, however, there are exceptions; where there is a mixture of blood, as it is sometimes called, perhaps these remarks may not apply. I suppose, however, that in case of a union between a degraded American slave of the last order spoken of, and a highly intelligent free American, whether white or colored, that the offspring of such parents are as likely to partake of the influence of slavery through the lineal medium of the slave parent, as to receive natural intelligence through the medium of the other.

So far as I understand, nature's law seems not to be scrupulously rigid in this particular: there appears to be no rule, therefore, by which to determine the effect or lineal influence of slavery on a mixed race. I am satisfied with regard to one fact, however, that caste has no influence whatever: for a union between a highly cultivated black and a degraded one, produces an exact similar effect. Whatever complexion or nation parents thus connected

may be of, the effect produced would be the same, but it would not be certain that their children would occupy a midway region between the intelligent and degraded parent, as in other cases part of a family may be below mediocrity, and part above, in point of form and intellect. One thing is certain, which may have some bearing in the case ; that when nature has been robbed, give her a fair chance and she will repair her loss by her own operations, one of which is to produce variety. But to proceed further with any remarks on this point, I feel myself not at liberty. In view of what I have said on this subject, I am aware of having fallen short of giving a full description of the lineal influence and effects slavery has upon the colored population of this country. Such is the nature of the subject, that it is almost impossible to arrange our thoughts so as to follow it by any correct rule of investigation.

Slavery, in its effects, is like that of a complicated disease, typifying evil in all its variety—in its operations, omnipotent to destroy—in effect, fatal as death and hell. Language is lame in its most successful attempt, to describe its enormity ; and with all the excitement which this country has undergone, in consequence of the discussion of the subject, yet the story is not half told, neither can it be. We, who are subject to its fatal effects, cannot fully realize the disease under which we labor. Think of a colored community, whose genius and temperament of minds all differ in proportion as they are lineally or personally made to feel the damning influence of slavery, and, as though it had the gift of creating tormenting pangs at pleasure, it comes up, in the character of an accuser, and charges our half destroyed, discordant minds, with hatred one towards the other, as though a body composed of parts, and systematized by the laws of nature, were capable of continuing its regular configurative movements after it has been decomposed.

When I think of nature's laws, that with scrupulous exactness they are to be obeyed by all things over which they are intended to bear rule, in order that she may be able to declare, in all her variety, that the hand that made her is divine, and when, in this case, I see and feel how she has been robbed of her means to perform her delightful task—her laws trampled under feet with all their divine authority, despoiling her works even in her most sacred temples—I wonder that I am a man ; for though of the third generation from slave parents, yet in body and mind nature has never been permitted to half finish her work. Let all judge who is in the fault, God, or slavery, or its sustainers?

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

A government like this is at any time liable to be revolutionized by the people, at any and every time there is a change of public sentiment. This, perhaps, is as it should be. But when the subjects of a republican government become morally and politically corrupt, there is but little chance remaining for republicanism. A correct standard may be set up, under which parties may pretend to aim at a defence of the original principles upon which the government was based ; but if the whole country has become corrupt, what executive power is there remaining to call those parties in question, and to decide whether their pretensions and acts correspond with the standard under which they profess to act. Suppose the Constitution and articles of confederation, be the admitted correct standard by all parties, still the case is no better, when there is not honesty enough in either, to admit a fair construction of their letter and spirit. Good laws, and a good form of government, are of but very little use to a wicked people, further than they are able to restrain them from wickedness.

Were a fallen angel permitted to live under the government of heaven, his disposition would first incline him to explain away the nature of its laws ; this done, their spirit becomes perverted, which places him back in hell from whence he came ; for, though he could not alter the laws of heaven, yet he could pervert their use, in himself, and act them out in this perverted state, which would make him act just like a devil. The perversion of infinite good, is infinite evil—and if the spiritual use of the laws of an infinitely perfect government is productive of a perfect heaven, in like manner their spiritual perversion is productive of perfect or infinite hell. Hence it is

said to be a bottomless pit—ay, deep as the principle is high, from which the distortion is made.

I have taken this course to illustrate the state of a people with a good government and laws, and with a disposition to explain away all their meaning. My conclusions are, that such republicans are capable, like the angel about which I have spoken, to carry out their republicanism into the most fatal despotism. A republican form of government, therefore, can be a blessing to no people, further than they make honest virtue the rule of life. Indeed, honesty is essential to the existence of a republican form of government, for it originates in a contract or agreement of its subjects, relative to the disposal of their mutual interests. If conspiracy is got up by any of the contracters, against the fundamental principles of the honest contract, (which, if republican, embraced those interests which are unalienable, and no more,) and if, by an influence gained by them, so as to make its intent null and void, the foundation of the government is thereby destroyed; leaving its whole fabric a mere wreck, inefficient in all its executive power. Or if the contract had the form of honesty only, when there was a secret design of fraud in the minds of the parties contracting, then of course, it is a body without a soul—a fabric without a foundation; and, like a dead carcass entombed, will tumble to pieces as soon as brought to the light of truth, and into the pure air of honesty.

With regard to the claims of the colored subjects of this government to equal political rights, I maintain that their claims are founded in an original agreement of the contracting parties, and that there is nothing to show that color was a consideration in the agreement. It is well known that when the country belonged to Great Britain, the colored people were slaves. But when America revolted from Britain, they were held no longer by any legal power. There was no efficient law in the land except marshal law, and that regarded no one as a slave. The inhabitants were governed by no other law, except by resolutions adopted from time to time by meetings convoked in the different colonies. Upon the face of the warrants by which these district and town meetings were called, there is not a word said about the color of the attendants. In convoking the continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1776, there was not a word said about color. In November of the same year, Congress met again, to get in readiness twelve thousand men to act in any emergency; at the same time, a request was forwarded to Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, to increase this army to twenty thousand men. Now it is well known that hun-

dreds of the men of which this army was composed, were colored men, and recognized by Congress as Americans.

An extract from the speech of Richard Henry Lee, delivered in Congress, assembled June 8, 1776, in support of a motion, which he offered, to declare America free and independent, will give some view of the nature of the agreement upon which this government is based. 'The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of her citizens, (I suppose black as well as white,) with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted, repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprang up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race.'

The principles which this speech contains, are manifestly those which were then acted upon. To remove all doubt on this point, I will make a short extract from the Declaration of Independence, in Congress assembled, fourth of July, 1776. 'We, the representatives of these United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. (And now for the pledge.) We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.' The representatives who composed that Congress were fifty-five in number, and all signed the declaration and pledge in behalf of the good people of the thirteen States.

Now I would ask, can it be said, from any fair construction of the foregoing extracts, that the colored people are not recognized as citizens. Congress drew up articles of confederation also, among which are found the following reserved state privileges. 'Each state has the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, and of framing its own laws, in all matters not included in the articles of confederation, and which are not repugnant to it.' Another article reads as follows: 'There shall be a public treasury for the service of the confederation, to be replenished by the particular contributions of each state, the same to be proportioned according to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, or condition, with the exception of Indians.'

These extracts are sufficient to show the civil and political recognition of the colored people. In addition to which, however, we have an official acknowledgment of their equal, civil, and political relation to the government, in the following proclamation of Major General Andrew Jackson, to the colored people of Louisiana, Sept. 21, 1814; also of Thomas Butler, Aid de Camp:

'*Head Quarters, Seventh Military District, Mobile, September* 21, 1814. *To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana.*

'Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

'As sons of Freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

'Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause, without remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations—your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier, and the language of truth, I address you.

'To every noble hearted free man of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz., one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to the same monthly pay and daily rations and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

'On enrolling yourselves in companies, the Major General commanding, will select officers for your government, from your white fellow citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

'Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sar-

casm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

'To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions, and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated my wishes to the Governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolments, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

'ANDREW JACKSON, *Major General Commmanding.*'

'*Proclamation to the Free People of Color.*

'Soldiers!—When on the banks of the Moble, I called you to take arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, *I expected much from you;* for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. *I knew well how you loved your native country*, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children and property: *You have done more than I expected.* In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found moreover, among you, a noble enthusiasm which leads to the performance of great things.

'Soldiers!—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

'The enemy approaches, his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

'By Order, THOMAS BUTLER, *Aid de Camp.*'

All the civil and political disabilities of the colored people, are the effect of usurpation. It is true, slavery is recognized by the articles of confederation; but there is not a public document of the government, which recognizes a colored man as a slave, not even in the provision for Southern representation.

When fugitive slaves are demanded by Southern slaveholders, they are recovered by virtue of a provision made to recover prisoners held to labor, in the state from whence they have absconded; but how that provision can be construed in such a

manner, as to give them that advantage, I cannot conceive. I am satisfied, that it only serves as a pretext to justify a base perversion of the law, for the sake of pleasing evil doers. In the first place, a slave is not held to labor legally in slave states, because, according to the extract I have made, viz., that each state has a right to frame laws which are not *prejudicial* to the articles of confederation; there is a limitation to which every other article of the document is subject. Now, what says another article of confederation? Why, that a person held to labor, shall be recovered. But in what way held? Upon this the articles of confederation, are silent; in fact, they may as well be silent; for had they pointed out the manner of persons being held to labor, they would have assumed the province of common law; this, the framers of the constitution and documents of confederation, knew full well; and the administrators of justice now know, that no person under heaven can be held to labor, other than by virtue of a contract, recognizable by common law. Neither do the administrators of justice, found their decisions on any thing found in the articles of confederation; for a proof of which, I will call the attention of my readers to the following considerations.

If a white person is arraigned before a justice, as a fugitive slave, it would not be all the evidence that could be collected to prove him a slave, however true, that would induce a justice at the North to give him up, if he were able to prove that he was of white parentage. It would be the same, in case that an Indian was arrraigned. There have been such claims made, I believe, and the defendants acquitted, even where there was proof positive, on the part of the claimant. This is proof positive, that decisions in such cases are not founded on a sentence contained in the articles of confederation, for there is nothing said, in that instrument, about nation or complexion; but persons held to labor. Now, if it is by virtue of that instrument, that the black man is held to labor, why not hold the white person, and the Indian, by the same power? And if they cannot be held by that instrument, how can any person be held, when no particular person is described? It is evident that decisions in favor of claimants are founded in the fact of the defendants being a black person, or descendants of blacks or Africans. Now, for all this mode of administering justice, there cannot be found a single sentence of justification, in any public document in the country, except such as have been framed by individual states; and these are prejudicial to the articles of confederation. If there is any thing in the articles of confederation, which jus-

tifies such a course of procedure, I have never found it. Only think, if one is claimed who is black, or who is a descendant of a black, (though he be whiter than a white man,) he must be given up to hopeless bondage, by virtue of the articles of confederation, when there is not a word about *black* contained in the instrument; whereas, if a white person be claimed, if he is half negro, if he can prove himself legally white, or of white parentage, he is acquitted. This course of conduct would be scouted by heathens, as a gross libel upon humanity and justice. It is so; and a violation of the Constitution, and of the Bill of Rights—the rights of the people; and every State which connives at such robbing in high places, clothed with a legal form, without a vestige of legal authority; and that too, after having taken the tremendous *oath*, as recorded in the Declaration of Independence, ought to have *perjury* written upon their statute books, and upon the ceiling of their legislative halls, in letters as large as their crime, and as black as the complexion of the injured.

Excuses have been employed in vain to cover up the hypocrisy of this nation. The most corrupt policy which ever disgraced its barbarous ancestry, has been adopted by both church and state, for the avowed purpose of withholding the *inalienable rights* of one part of the subjects of the government. Pretexts of the lowest order, which are neither witty or decent, and which rank among that order of subterfuges, under which the lowest of ruffians attempt to hide, when exposed to detection, are made available. Indeed, I may say in candor, that a highwayman or assassin acts upon principles far superior, in some respects, in comparison with those under which the administrators of the laws of church and state act, especially in their attempts to hide themselves and their designs from the just censure of the world, and from the burning rays of truth. I have no language to express what I see, and hear, and feel, on this subject. Were I capable of dipping my pen in the deepest dye of crime, and of understanding the science of the bottomless pit, I should then fail in presenting to the intelligence of mortals on earth, the true nature of American deception. There can be no appeals made in the name of the laws of the country, of philanthropy, or humanity, or religion, that is capable of drawing forth any thing but the retort,—*you are a negro!* If we call to our aid the thunder tones of the cannon and the arguments of fire arms, (vigorously managed by black and white men, side by side,) as displayed upon Dorchester Heights, and at Lexington, and at White Plains, and at Kingston, and at

Long Island, and elsewhere, the retort is, *you are a negro* —if we present to the nation a Bunker's Hill, our nation's altar, (upon which she offered her choicest sacrifice,) with our fathers, and brothers, and sons, prostrate thereon, wrapped in fire and smoke—the incense of blood borne upward upon the wings of sulphurous vapor, to the throne of national honor, with a halo of national glory echoing back, and spreading and astonishing the civilized world;—and if we present the thousands of widows and orphans, whose only earthly protectors were thus sacrificed, weeping over the fate of the departed; and anon, tears of blood are extorted, on learning that the government for which their lovers and sires had died, refuses to be their protector;—if we tell that angels weep in pity, and that God, the eternal Judge, 'will hear the desire of the humble, judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress,'—the retort is, YOU ARE A NEGRO! If there is a spark of honesty, patriotism, or religion, in the heart or the source from whence such refuting arguments emanate, the devil incarnate is the brightest seraph in paradise.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE NATURE OF THE PREJUDICE OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ITS MALIGNANT EXERCISE TOWARDS THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Malignant prejudice is a principle which calls into action the worst passions of the human heart. There are cases, however, in which the exercise of prejudice is perfectly harmless. A person may prepossess favorable opinions of another, and such opinions may be just and right. Unfavorable opinions may be formed, also, of persons whose conduct is censurable; and a just prejudice may be exercised towards them, as they stand related to their own bad conduct, without a display of any malignity.

Again, prejudicial feelings may be exercised towards another, through an error of judgment, for the want of means of knowing the true character of those against whom a prejudice is indulged; in which case, it possesses nothing malignant, because its possessor entertains no purpose of injury. Great caution should be exercised, however, in judging the motives and conduct of another, especially when such conduct relates somewhat to ourselves—because it is very natural for us to be governed by our interest, or imaginary interest, which is liable to lead us into errors of the worst kind. It is also natural, on being convicted of wrong, to plead ignorance. But such a plea will not always excuse the pleader in strict justice. For if the prejudiced person has the means of knowing, or if he has any doubt with regard to the justness of his opinions of his neighbors, and still neglects to use the means of informing himself, and to solve his doubts on the subject, but persists in the exercise of his prejudice, he is equally guilty of all the mischief produced thereby, as he would be if he knew ever so well, and persisted in his wrong course in the light of that knowledge.

Prejudice seems to possess a nature peculiar to itself It never possesses any vitiating qualities, except when it is exercised by one who has done, or intends to do, another an injury. And its malignity is heightened in proportion as its victim in any way recovers, or has a manifest prospect of recovering the injury ; or if there is apparently a door open by which a superior power to that which he possesses, may bring him to an account for the wrong done to his neighbor, all have a direct tendency to heighten the malignity of prejudice in the heart of its possessor.

The colored population are the injured party. And the prejudice of the whites against them is in exact proportion to the injury the colored people have sustained. There is a prejudice in this country against the Irish, who are flocking here by thousands. Still there is nothing malignant in the nature and exercise of that prejudice, either national or personal. It grows out of the mere circumstance of their different manners and religion. The moment an Irishman adopts the maxims and prevailing religion of the country, he is no longer regarded an Irishman, other than by birth. It is to be remembered, also, that the Irish are not an injured, but a benefited party ; therefore, it is not possible that the bestower of benefits could be at the same time malignantly exercising prejudice towards those he is benefiting.

There exists, therefore, no injurious prejudice against the Irish. There exists a prejudice against the Indians, but it is almost entirely national, and for the very reason that the injury they have sustained is essentially national. The jealous eye of this nation is fixed upon them as a nation, and has ever exercised the rigor of its prejudice towards them, in proportion as they attempted to recover their rightful possessions; or, in other words, just in proportion as the physical powers of the Indians, have dwindled to inefficiency, prejudice against them has become lax and passive. It revives only as they show signs of national life.

The injury sustained by the colored people, is both national and personal ; indeed, it is national in a twofold sense. In the first place, they are lineally stolen from their native country, and detained for centuries, in a strange land, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this situation, their blood, habits, minds, and bodies, have undergone such a change, as to cause them to lose all legal or natural relations to their mother country. They are no longer her children ; therefore, they sustain the great injury of losing their country, their birthright, and are

made aliens and illegitimates. Again, they sustain a national injury by being adopted subjects and citizens, and then be denied their citizenship, and the benefits derivable therefrom —accounted as aliens and outcasts, hence, are identified as belonging to no country—denied birthright in one, and had it stolen from them in another—and, I had like to have said, they had lost title to both worlds; for certainly they are denied all title in this, and almost all advantages to prepare for the next. In this light of the subject, they belong to no people, race, or nation ; subjects of no government—citizens of no country—scattered surplus remnants of two races, and of different nations—severed into individuality—rendered a mass of broken fragments, thrown to and fro, by the boisterous passions of this and other ungodly nations. Such, in part, are the national injuries sustained by this miserable people.

I am aware that most people suppose the existence of color to be the cause of malignant prejudice. Upon this supposition an argument is founded, that color is an insurmountable barrier, over which there can be no social or political relation formed between white and colored Americans. To show the folly of which, I shall lay down and sustain the following principles.

First. Effects, according to their numerous laws, partake of their parent cause in nature and quantity ; i. e. the amount of effect produced, will exactly agree with the amount of efficiency the cause contains which produced it; and their legitimacy claims for them, the nature of their parent. Apply this rule to the subject under consideration, and it will be seen, that, if color were the cause of prejudice, it follows, that just according to the variegation of the cause, (color) so would the effect variegate—i. e. the clear blooded black would be subject to a greater degree of prejudice, in proportion as he was black—and those of lighter caste subject to a less degree of prejudice, as they were light. Now it is well known that the exercise of prejudice, is as intense towards those who are in fact whiter than a clear blooded American, as it is against one who is as black as jet, if they are identified as belonging to that race of people who are the injured party.

Again. That which cannot be contemplated as a principle, abstractly, cannot be an efficient cause of any thing. A principle which is not subject to dissection, having body and parts—a principle of configuration is not capable of being an active cause ; therefore, it only exists as a passive principle, depending entirely on an active principle for its existence. Now, if animal color can be contemplated as a cause, it must possess configurative

properties ; and if it possess these properties, then it is an independent principle, capable of living and acting after the man is dead, or decomposed. If it is argued that each component part of the man becomes independent when decomposed, and that animal color is one of the component parts, then I would ask, why we cannot comprehend its existence, the same as other matter of which the body was made ? If this cannot be done, then it cannot be regarded other than a passive principle in which there is no power of action. Color, therefore, cannot be an efficient cause of the malignant prejudice of the whites against the blacks ; it is only an imaginary cause at the most. It serves only as a trait by which a principle is identified.

The true cause of this prejudice is slavery. Slavery partakes of the nature and efficiency of all, and every thing, that is bad on earth and in hell. Its effect in the character of prejudice, as displayed towards the colored people, fully sustains my position—that effects partake of their parent cause, both in nature and quantity ; for certainly, nothing short of every thing evil on earth and in hell, in the form and character of slavery could be capable of producing such prejudicial injuries, as those under which the colored people are doomed to suffer. It must be admitted, that slavery assumes a most vicious character in its exercise towards them. Never could a people exist under greater injuries, than those under which this people have existed in this country ; slavery, in its worst form, is the cause of all injury sustained by them. The system of slavery in its effects, is imposed on the injured party in two forms, or by two methods. The first method is, by a code of laws, originating in public sentiment, as in slave states. The other is, prejudice originating in the same, as it exists in free states. The first method is prejudicial, and partakes of the corruptions of public sentiment, which is corrupted by prejudice ; but prejudice, in that case, assumes the form of law, and, therefore, is not capable of inflicting such deep injuries, as when it exists without law. Because to all law there is a limitation, whether good or bad ; hence, so far as the laws of slave states are concerned, a limitation of suffering may be contemplated, even under their direct influence. However severe slave laws may be, and however faithfully executed according to their letter and spirit—though by them the cup of injury be lavished out in full measure upon the objects of its abuse to the extent of its power, still, the innate principles of the human mind, will cause it to transcend such legal abuse, where a *limitation* can be comprehended.

Legal codes, however oppressive, have never as yet been able to crush the aspiring principles of human nature. The real monster slavery, cannot long exist, where it is sustained by legal codes only; it is forced to stand off, and is capable of imposing its shadow only, in comparison to what it is capable of doing by collateral aid. When public sentiment, therefore, has become so morally, civilly, and politically corrupted by the principles of slavery, as to be determined in crushing the objects of its malignity, it is under the necessity of calling prejudice to its aid, as an auxiliary to its adopted formal code of wickedness, clothed like a semi-devil, with all the innate principles of the old dragon himself. This auxiliary, is all powerfully capable of accommodating itself to local circumstances and conditions, and appearing with all the nature of the old beast, slavery; it is always ready to destroy every aspiration to civil, political and moral elevation, which arises in the breast of the oppressed. There is no pretext too absurd, by which to justify the expenditures of its soul-and-body-destroying energies. The complexion, features, pedigree, customs, and even the attributes and purposes of God, are made available to its justification.

By this monster, the withering influence of slavery is directed to the very vitals of the colored people—withering every incentive to improvement—rendering passive all the faculties of the intellect—subjecting the soul to a morbid state of insensibility —destroying the body—making one universal wreck of the best work of nature's God.

Such is its effect at the south, and scarcely less destructive at the north. The only difference is this: at the north, there is not so formal a code of laws by which to direct the energies of prejudice as at the south; still the doctrine of *expediency* full well makes up the deficiency of cruel laws, giving prejudice as full toleration to exercise itself, and in lavishing out its withering influence, as law at the south.

It is a remarkable fact that the moment the colored people show signs of life—any indication of being possessed with redeeming principles, that moment an unrelenting hatred arises in the mind which is inhabited by that foul fiend, prejudice; and the possessor of it will never be satisfied, until those indications are destroyed; space, time, nor circumstance, is no barrier to its exercise. Transplant the object of its malignity to Africa, or Canada, or elsewhere, and its poison is immediately transferred from local into national policy, and will exert all possible means it possesses, to accomplish its fell design. It always aims its deadly fangs at the noble and active principles of the immortal

mind, which alone enables man to stand forth pre-eminent in all the works of God.*

Let the oppressed assume the character of capable men in buisness, either mercantile, mechanical, or agricultural,—let them assume the right of exercising themselves in the use of the common privileges of the country—let them claim the right of enjoying liberty, in the general acceptation of the term—let them exercise the right of speech and of thought—let them presume to enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary and the Bible let their souls be filled with glory and of God, and wish to bow the knee at the sacred altar, and commemorate the dying love of Christ the Lord—let them seek a decent burial for their departed friend in the church yard—and they are immediately made to feel that they are as a carcass destined to be preyed upon by the eagles of persecution. Thus they are followed from life's dawn to death's-doom.

I have no language wherewith to give slavery, and its auxiliaries, an adequate description, as an efficient cause of the miseries it is capable of producing. It seems to possess a kind of omnipresence. It follows its victims in every avenue of life.

The principle assumes still another feature equally destructive. It makes the colored people subserve almost every foul purpose imaginable. Negro or nigger, is an approbrious term, employed to impose contempt upon them as an inferior race, and also to express their deformity of person. Nigger lips, nigger shins, and nigger heels, are phrases universally common among the juvenile class of society, and full well understood by them ; they are early learned to think of these expressions, as they are intended to apply to colored people, and as being expressive or descriptive of the odious qualities of their mind and body. These impressions received by the young, grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength. The term in itself, would be perfectly harmless, were it used only to distinguish one class of society from another ; but it is not used with that intent ; the practical definition is quite different in England to what it is here, for here, it flows from the fountain of purpose to injure. It is this baneful seed which is sown in the tender soil of youthful minds, and there cultivated by the hand of a corrupt immoral policy.

The universality of this kind of education is well known to the observing. Children in infancy receive oral instruction from the nurse. The first lessons given are, Johnny, Billy, Mary,

* Take Hayti for an example.

Sally, (or whatever the name may be,) go to sleep, if you don't the old *nigger* will care you off; don't you cry—Hark; the old *niggers'* coming—how ugly you are, you are worse than a little *nigger*. This is a specimen of the first lessons given.

The second is generally given in the domestic circle; in some families it is almost the only method of correcting their children. To inspire their half grown misses and masters to improvement, they are told that if they do this or that, or if they do thus and so, they will be poor or ignorant as a *nigger;* or that they will be black as a *nigger;* or have no more credit than a *nigger*; that they will have hair, lips, feet, or something of the kind, like a *nigger*. If doubt is entertained by any, as to the truth of what I write, let them travel twenty miles in any direction in this country, especially in the free States, and his own sense of hearing will convince him of its reality.

See nigger's thick lips—see his flat nose—nigger eye shine —that slick looking nigger—nigger, where you get so much coat?—that's a nigger priest—are sounds emanating from little urchins of Christain villagers, which continually infest the feelings of colored travellers, like the pestiferous breath of young devils; and full grown persons, and sometimes professors of religion, are not unfrequently heard to join in the concert.

A third mode of this kind of instruction is not altogether oral. Higher classes are frequently instructed in school rooms by refering them to the nigger-seat, and are sometimes threatened with being made to sit with the niggers, if they do not behave.

The same or similar use is made of nigger pews or seats in meeting-houses. Professing Christians, where these seats exist, make them a test by which to ascertain the amount of their humility. This I infer from their own language; for, say they, of the colored people, if we are only humble enough, we should be willing to sit any where to hear the word. If our hearts were right we should not care where we sit—I had as lief sit there (meaning the nigger pew,) as any where in the world. This, I admit, is all very good, but comes with rather bad grace. But, as I above observed, this kind of education is not altogether oral. Cuts and placards descriptive of the negroe's deformity, are every where displayed to the observation of the young, with corresponding broken lingo, the very character of which is marked with design.

Many of the popular book stores, in commercial towns and cities, have their show-windows lined with them. The bar-rooms of the most popular public houses in the country, sometimes have their ceiling literally covered with them. This display of American civility is under the daily observation of every class of society, even in New England. But this kind of education is not only systematized, but legalized. At the south, public newspapers are teeming through the country, bearing negro cuts, with remarks corresponding to the object for which they are inserted.

But this system is not carried on without deep design. It has hitherto been a settled opinion of philosophers that a black man could endure the heat better than a white man. Traders in human flesh have ever taken the advantage of that opinion, by urging it as a plea of justification of their obtaining Africans, as laborers in warm climates; hence, we may naturally expect, that in a slave country like this, it would be a universally admitted axiom; and the more readily admitted, as it is easily construed into a plea to justify their wicked purposes. If the black can endure the heat, and the white cannot, say they, it must be that God made him on purpose for that; hence, it is no harm for us to act in accordance with the purposes of God, and make him work. These are the simple inferences drawn from the philosophical premises, the justness of which I shall hereafter examine.

The arguments founded on these premises, are many. Cotton, rice, indigo, tobacco, and sugar, are great blessings to the world, say they, and they may as well be made to make them as not; for they are a lazy crew at the best, and if they are not made to work for us, they will not work at all, &c. But to come at the truth, the whole system is founded in avarice. I believe the premises to be the production of modern philosophy, bearing date with European slavery; and it has been the almost sole cause of the present prevailing public sentiment in regard to the colored population. It has given rise to the universal habit of thinking that they were made for the sole end of being slaves and underlings. There could be nothing more natural, than for a slaveholding nation to indulge in a train of thoughts and conclusions that favored their idol, slavery. It becomes the interest of all parties, not excepting the clergy, to sanction the premises, and draw the conclusions, and hence, to teach the rising generation. What could accord better with the objects of this nation in reference to blacks, than to teach their little ones that a negro is part monkey?

'The love of money is the root of all evil;' it will induce its votaries to teach lessons to their little babes, which only fits them for the destroyers of their species in this world, and for the torments of hell in the world to come. When clergymen, even, are so blinded by the god of this world, as to witness the practice of the most heinous blasphemy in the house, said to be dedicated to God, for centuries, without raising their warning voice to the wicked, it would not be at all surprising if they were to teach their children a few lessons in the science of anatomy, for the object of making them understand that a negro is not like a white man, instead of teaching them his catechism.

The effect of this instruction is most disastrous upon the mind of the community; having been instructed from youth to look upon a black man in no other light than a slave, and having associated with that idea the low calling of a slave, they cannot look upon him in any other light. If he should chance to be found in any other sphere of action than that of a slave, he magnifies to a monster of wonderful dimensions, so large that they cannot be made to believe that he is a man and a brother. Neither can they be made to believe it would be safe to admit him into stages, steam-boat cabins, and tavern dining-rooms; and not even into meeting-houses, unless he have a place prepared on purpose. Mechanical shops, stores, and school rooms, are all too small for his entrance as a man; if he be a slave, his corporeality becomes so diminished as to admit him into ladies' parlors, and into small private carriages, and elsewhere, without being disgustful on account of his deformity, or without producing any other discomfiture. Thus prejudice seems to possess a magical power, by which it makes a being appear most odious one moment, and the next, beautiful—at one moment too large to be on board a steam-boat, the next, so small as to be convenient almost any where.

But prejudice is destructive to life. The public have been frequently told the operation of the slave system is destructive to the life of its victim; this statement is intended generally to be confined to those parts where slavery is legalized; and what has been said relative to the subject is but a beginning of the story. Indeed, I may say the publishers of the horrible effects of slavery in this country, have not generally had the means of knowing one half of its enormity. The extent of it will probably remain a secret until the great day of eternity. Many of us who are conversant with fugitive slaves, on their arrival to the free states, have an opportunity of hearing a tale of wo, which for the want of adequate language, we are not able to

describe. These stories are told with so much native simplicity as to defy the most stubborn incredulity of the incredulous. But, though slavery in this way is carrying its thousands into eternity, in the southern states, yet it is doing hardly less so in the free states, as it displays itself in the character and form of prejudice.

Mind acts on matter. Contemplate the numerous free people of color under the despotic reign of prejudice—contemplate a young man in the ardor of youth, blessed with a mind as prolific as the air, aspiring to eminence and worth—contemplate his first early hopes blasted by the frost of prejudice—witness the ardor of youth inspiring him to a second and third trial, and as often repelled by this monster foe—hear him appealing to the laws of the land of his birth for protection—the haughty executives of the law spurning him from the halls of justice. He betakes to the temple of God—the last alternative around which his fading, dying hopes are hovering—but here, also, he receives a death thrust, and that by the hand of the priest of the altar of God. Yes—hear ye priests of the altar—it is the death thrust of slavery carried to the hearts of its victims by you. Yes—let it be known to the world, that the colored people who have been stolen, and have lost all allegiance to Africa, are sold in the shambles, and scouted from every privilege that makes life desirable. Under these discouragements they betake themselves to those who are called to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound, and they are set at nought by them also. The effect of these discouragements are every where manifest among the colored people.

I will venture to say, from my own experience and observation, that hundreds of them come to an untimely grave, by no other disease than that occasioned by oppression. And why should it be otherwise? They are virtually denied all possessions on earth, and how can they stay without a place whereon to rest.

I, as an individual, have had a sufficient opportunity to know something about prejudice, and its destructive effects. At an early period of my life, I was extensively engaged in mechanism, associated with a number of other colored men of master spirits and great minds. The enterprise was followed for about twenty years, perseveringly, in direct opposition to public sentiment, and the tide of popular prejudice. So intent were the parties in carrying out the principles of intelligent,

active free men, that they sacrificed every thing of comfort and ease to the object. The most rigid economy was adhered to at home and abroad. A regular school was established for the instruction of the youth connected with the factory, and the strictest rules of morality were supported with surprising assiduity; and ardent spirits found no place in the establishment. After the expenditure of this vast labor and time, together with many thousand dollars, the enterprise ended in a total failure. By reason of the repeated surges of the tide of prejudice, the establishment, like a ship in a boisterous hurricane at sea, went beneath its waves, richly laden, well manned, and well managed, and all sunk to rise no more. Such was the interest felt by the parties concerned, and such was their sense of the need of such an establishment for the benefit of colored youth, that they might acquire trades and a corresponding education, that they exerted every nerve to call it into the notice of the public, that the professed friends of the colored people might have an opportunity to save it from becoming a wreck; but all in vain; prejudice had decreed its fate. It fell, and with it fell the hearts of several of its undertakers in despair, and their bodies into their graves.

With the above, I could record the names of scores whose dissolution can be traced to a cloud of obstructions thrown in their way to prevent enterprise.

I should proceed no farther with this tale of wo, were I satisfied I had done my duty in the case. But the condition of the colored people is such, even in the free states, that every effort, however feeble, should he made to redeem them from the influence of that dreadful monster—prejudice. I have recently travelled among them as a missionary, and their condition is truly lamentable. Their immortal interests, as well as their temporal, are in many places almost entirely disregarded; and in others, their warmest friends seem not to comprehend their true condition. I found several hundreds in some places, who, though the bowl of knowledge was overflowing around them, were not permitted to partake, without they receive it from the cup of contempt, the thought of which, to sensitive minds, is like a draught of wormwood and gall.

Slavery, in the form and character of prejudice, is as fatal, yea, more fatal than the pestilence. It possesses imperial dominion over its votaries and victims. It demands and receives homage from priests and people. It drinks up the spirit of the church, and gathers blackness, and darkness, and death, around her brow. Its poison chills the life blood of her heart. Its

gigantic tread on the Sabbath day, pollutes the altars of the sanctuary of the Most High. It withholds the word of life from thousands of perishing immortals, and shuts the gate of heaven alike upon those whose hearts it possesses, and those marked out for its victims. It opens wide the way to hell; and as though posessed with more than magic power, coerces its millions down to the pit of wo in defiance of the benevolence of a God, and the dying groans of a Saviour. O Prejudice, thou art slavery in disguise! and couldst thou ascend to heaven, thy pestiferous breath would darken and poison that now healthful and happy clime; and thou wouldst make its inhabitants feel the pains of the lowest hell. If there are degrees of intensity to the misery of the damned, that being must feel it in eternity, in whose heart prejudice reigned in this world. O Prejudice, I cannot let thee pass without telling thee and thy possessors, that thou art a compound of all evil—of all the corrupt passions of the heart. Yea, thou art a participant in all the purposes of the wicked one—thou art the very essence of hell.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CLAIMS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE TO ALL THE CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES OF THIS COUNTRY.

This proposition is in part embraced within the province of those of a preceding chapter. In following it, therefore, I shall be able to fulfil a promise therein contained.

The claims set up are founded in the fact that they are Americans by birth and blood. Complexion has never been made the legal test of citizenship in any age of the world. It has been established generally by birth and blood, and by purchase, or by the ceding of a province or territory from one nation to another. But as they are denied those privileges principally on the ground of their complexion and blood, it shall be my business in this concluding chapter to show—that though their complexion is as truly American as the complexion of the whites, yet it has nothing to do in settling the question. If blood has any thing to do with it, then we are able to prove that there is not a drop of African blood, according to the general acceptation of the term, flowing in the veins of an American born child, though black as jet. Children of African parents, recently arrived in this country, who have not undergone what is called seasoning, may partake of the characteristics of its African parents; such as the hair, complexion, and such like appendages, but the child's blood has nothing African about it, and for the following reasons. The blood of the parents in seasoning to this climate becomes changed—also, the food of the mother being the production of this country, and congenial to the climate—the atmosphere she breathes—the surrounding objects which strike her senses—all are principles which establish and give character to the

constitutional principles of the child, among which the blood is an essential constituent; hence every child born in America, even if it be as black as jet, is American by birth and blood. The kind of root called Irish potatoes, is in truth American, if the potatoes are the production of American soil; and thus remain American potatoes, though they be red or deep scarlet. Some eagle-eyed philosophers, who possess great acuteness of smelling powers, think there is a difference of smell between the Africans and Europeans. Suppose that idea to be correct—would it prove any difference of smell between Americans who are constitutionally alike, and whose corporeals are sustained by the same aliment? In philosophically contemplating those constitutional properties, the color of the skin can no more be included than that of the eyes or the length of the nose.

It is the settled opinion of most people in this country, as I mentioned in a former chapter, that black Americans can endure the heat better than white Americans This opinion is founded in the fact that black will retain heat while white emits it. I admit the proposition, but I doubt the correctness of the conclusions with respect to the color of animals.

Some minerals and dye-stuffs, and other black substances, will retain heat, which is owing to their not possessing any reflecting ingredient or property, by which the light or heat is thrown back. Heated iron will retain heat longer than heated brass, for the same reason—i. e. iron is not possessed of as much reflection as brass—or in other words, it has not the properties of reflection. I believe these are the considerations, and these only, that are capable of sustaining the proposition.

But these considerations do not and cannot embrace those connected with animal color, for that has neither the power of retaining nor emiting heat—and for the very good reason it possesses no properties; hence no efficient cause in itself to produce any effect whatever. The principle as it exists in relation to minerals and other substances, depends entirely upon the nature of the properties of which these several bodies are composed; but can the principle be made to apply to animal color?

Analyze black iron, and black properties are found in the iron. Analyze black dye-stuff, and black properties are found in the stuff. Analyze light brass, and light reflecting properties are found in the brass.

Analyze a black man, or anatomize him, and the result of research is the same as analyzing or anatomizing a white man.

Before the dissecting knife passes half through the outer layer of the skin, it meets with the same solids and fluids, and from thence all the way through the body. Now I should like to have some modern philosophers, who have got more sense than common school-boys, to tell the world how it is that two bodies of matter, the one exactly similar to the other, in every minute principle of their composition, should produce different effect by the one emiting heat, and the other retaining it.

If it is contended that those properties exist in the animal color itself, then, if they will be good enough to analyze it and give us a knowledge of its parts—i. e. if they think a black head can receive and understand it—they will do the world a great favor, as well as ourselves.

If the foregoing considerations are reconcilable, then it may be taken for granted that a black man can work better in the hot sun than a white man—but if they are not reconcilable, then the whole theory is only calculated to dupe the black people, and make knaves of the white people.

But to return. The colored people being constitutionally Americans, they are depending on American climate, American aliment, American government, and American manners, to sustain their American bodies and minds; a withholding of the enjoyment of any American principle from an American man, either governmental, ecclesiastical, civil, social or alimental, is in effect taking away his means of subsistence; and consequently, taking away his life. Every ecclesiastical body which denies an American the privilege of participating in its benefits, becomes his murderer. Every state which denies an American a citizenship with all its benefits, denies him his life. Every community which denies an American the privilege of public conveyances, in common with all others, murders him by piece-meal. Every community which withholds social intercourse with an American, by which he may enjoy current information, becomes his murderer of the worst kind. The claims the colored people set up, therefore, are the claims of an American.

They ask priests and people to withhold no longer their inalienable rights to seek happiness in the sanctuary of God, at the same time and place that other Americans seek happiness. They ask statesmen to open the way whereby they, in common with other Americans, may aspire to honor and worth as statesmen—to place their names with other Americans—subject to a draft as jurymen and other functionary appointments, according to their ability. They ask their white American brethren to think of them and treat them as American citizens,

and neighbors, and as members of the same American family. They urge their claims in full assurance of their being founded in immutable justice. They urge them from a sense of patriotism, from an interest they feel in the well being of their common country. And lastly, they urge them from the conviction that God, the judge of all men, will avenge them of their wrongs, unless their claims are speedily granted.

There are some objections urged against these claims. One is, that the greater part of the colored people are held as property, and if these claims are granted, their owners would be subject to great loss. In answer to this objection, I would remark, that were I to accede to the right of the master to his property in man, still I should conceive the objection groundless, for it is a well known fact that a far greater portion of the colored people who are free, purchased their freedom, and the freedom of their families. Many of them have purchased themselves several times over. Thousands of dollars have been paid over to masters annually, which was the proceeds of extra labor, in consideration of their expected freedom. My colored acquaintances are numerous who have thus done, some of whom were under the necessity of running away to obtain their freedom after all.

I am sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments and views of the slave population of every slave state in the union, to warrant me in the conclusion, that if the despotic power of the master was wrested from him, and the slaves placed under a law of ever so rigid a nature, with the privilege of paying for themselves by their extra labor, there would be comparatively few slaves in the country in less than seven years. The most of them would pay the round price of their bodies, and come out freemen.

Another objection is, that the slaves, if freed at once, would not be capable of enjoying suffrages.

This objection has less foundation than the former, for the several state legislatures of the slave states are continually assisting the masters to keep them in ignorance, and why not legislate in favor of their being informed?

Some contend that they are not now fit for freedom, but ought to be prepared and then freed.

Such a calculation is preposterous. We might as well talk about educating a water machine to run against its propelling power, as to talk about educating a slave for a free man. When travelling through the state of New York, recently, I made some inquiries with respect to the colored people, who in some

places are very numerous. I was there informed, by gentlemen whose veracity I cannot doubt, that they are generally indolent and dissipated, far worse than they were when they were slaves. I was told also, that many of them had enjoyed excellent opportunities to become wealthy and respectable. That before the Emancipation Bill was passed in that state, they were mostly slaves, but had an opportunity of obtaining an excellent education, and the art of farming, equal, and in many instances, superior to most white men. When they became free, many of their masters, as a reward of former faithfulness, furnished them with means to operate for themselves on a small scale. My informants expressed much astonishment at the fact that most of those who had the best opportunity to do well, had become dissipated, and much worse in character and conduct than when they were slaves.

I have introduced this narrative for the purpose of showing that slaves cannot be educated for free men. A slave is metamorphosed into a machine, adapted to a specific operation, and propelled by the despotic power of the slave system, without any motive to attract. The influence of this power acts upon a slave the same as upon any other biased agent. By the abrogation of the propelling cause of all the acts of the machine, it ceases to move. The slave is now left, without either motive to attract, or power to coerce. A slave, as such, in undergoing the change from a moral, intelligent being, to a mere machine, lost all the innate principles of a freeman. Hence, when the principles of slavery ceases to act upon him, to the end for which he is a slave, he is left a mere out-of-use wreck of machinery ; under nothing but the withering influence of the pelting rain of wickedness.

It is true, many of the slaves of New York had some education, but that education was acquired when a slave. Hence, it was only a collateral means by which he was rendered a more efficient machine. His education was the education of a slave, and not a freeman.

These conclusions may be thought by some to go against the doctrine of immediate abolition—not so. The doctrine of immediate abolition embraces the idea of an entire reversal of the system of slavery. The work of emancipation is not complete when it only cuts off some of the most prominent limbs of slavery, such as destroying the despotic power of the master, and the laying by of the cow-hide. The man who fell among thieves was emancipated in that way. His cruel captivators, I suppose, thought they had done a great act of philanthropy

when they left off beating him. But their sort of emancipation left the poor man half dead—precisely in the same way New York emancipated her slaves, after beating them several hundred years, left them, half dead, without proscribing any healing remedy for the bruises and wounds received by their maltreatment. But the good Samaritan had quite a different view of the subject. It is remembered, undoubtedly, that before he acted, there were several who passed by that way, saw the man, but passed by on the other side. Whether they were Unionists, Colonizationists, or Abolitionists, every one must judge for themselves. But when the good man came along, he carried out the principles of immediate abolitionism. If New York had imitated him, there would have been no complaint about her emancipated negroes (as they are called,) being worse than when they were slaves.

I repeat, that emancipation embraces the idea that the emancipated must be placed back where slavery found them, and restore to them all that slavery has taken away from them. Merely to cease beating the colored people, and leave them in their gore, and call it emancipation, is nonsense. Nothing short of an entire reversal of the slave system in theory and practice—in general and in particular—will ever accomplish the work of redeeming the colored people of this country from their present condition.

Let the country, then, no longer act the part of the thief. Let the free states no longer act the part of them who passed by on the other side, and leaving the colored people half dead, especially when they were beaten by their own hands, and so call it emancipation—raising a wonderment why the half dead people do not heal themselves. Let them rather act the part of the good Samaritan. That only will open an effectual door through which sympathies can flow, and by which a reciprocity of sentiment and interest can take place — a proper knowledge acquired by the benefactor relative to his duty, and reciprocated on the part of the benefited.

This state of things would possess redeeming power. Every collateral means would be marshaled under the heaven-born principle, that requires all men to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. It would kindle anew the innate principles of moral, civil and social manhood, in the downtrodden colored Americans; bidding them arise as from the dead, and speed their way back to the height from whence they have fallen. Nor would the call be in vain. A corresponding action on their part would respond to the cheering

voice. The countenance which has been cast down, hitherto, would brighten up with joy. Their narrow foreheads, which have hitherto been contracted for the want of mental exercise, would begin to broaden. Their eye balls, hitherto strained out to prominence by a frenzy excited by the flourish of the whip, would fall back under a thick foliage of curly eyebrows, indicative of deep penetrating thought. Those muscles, which have hitherto been distended by grief and weeping, would become contracted to an acuteness, corresponding to that acuteness of perception with which business men are blessed. That interior region, the dwelling place of the soul, would be lighted up with the fires of love and gratitude to their benefactors on earth, and to their great Benefactor above, driving back those clouds of slavery and of prejudice which have hitherto darkened and destroyed its vision. And thus their whole man would be redeemed, rendering them fit for the associates of their fellow men in this life, and for the associates of angels in the world to come.

Sons of Columbia, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Defend the honest poor, the truth maintain.

Sons of pilgrim sires, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Your country's stained with blood all o'er the main.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Cease to be slavery's vassals—dupes to gain.

Priests of the altar up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
No more the holy name of God profane.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Come ye from under slavery's prejudicial reign.

Priests of the altar, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
The trump of God has sounded—Hark—it sounds again.

Daughters of freedom, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Shall violated chastity call for help in vain?

Daughters of freedom, up get ye;
Purge you from slavery's guilty stain,
Ere thy sisters' grief 'gainst thee in heaven complain.

Statesmen of Columbia, up get ye;
Hark! Jefferson presag'd from first,
Trembling for his country—proclaimed—God is just!!

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Hark! hear the prophets tell,
How nations forgetting God are sent to hell.

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Purge you from that dreadful sin,
Prejudice—of dev'lish extract—hellish fiend.

Priests and people, all, up get ye;
Repent ye while you may,
An awful judgment is at hand—God's vengeful day.

☞The sermon, as proposed in our title page, is omitted on the account that it would swell the work far beyond our calculation. It will accompany a work entitled Easton's Lectures on Civil, Social, and Moral Economy, which will be presented to the public in a few weeks. The surplus proceeds of that work, as well as of this, after their expenses are paid, will be given to a colored society in Hartford, Con., who have lost their meeting-house by fire.

An extensive supply of this work may be had by forwarding an order to Isaac Knapp's Book Store and Liberator Office, No. 25 Cornhill, at the rate of $18 per 100—$2.50 per doz. 25 cents single copy. Subscribers for the other work solicited on the same conditions—directed to the same office before the first of April.

Wherein the works are deficient in their claims to patronage, it is hoped will be made up by the claims of the suffering society, for whom the proceeds are intended.

ERRATA.

6th page, 6th line from the top, instead of 'sprung' read 'springing' —and for 'you may find' read 'are found.'

10th page, 2d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'conquest of armies' read 'conquest in arms'—also, 3d paragraph, 6th line, instead of 'impossible' read 'improbable.'

11th page, 1st line, instead of 'learning' read 'litany.'

12th page, 3d line, instead of 'by conveyance' read 'by *other* conveyance,'—also, instead of 'kindred and' &c. read 'subjects or' &c.—and for 'defender' read 'defendants.'

14th page, last paragraph, 2d line, instead of 'have annual,' &c. read 'receive annual,' &c.

18th page, 3d paragraph, 5th line, instead of 'the superiority' read 'the *pretended* superiority.'

19th page, 9th line from the top, read after 'and,' '*their country*' virtually, &c.

24th page, 2d paragraph, two last lines, instead of 'their progenitors since that period,' read 'since the commencement of that period.'

26th page, 2d paragraph, 12th line, instead of 'pangs' read 'fangs.'

28th page, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th lines from the bottom, read thus: 'In convoking the Continental Congress of the 4th of September, 1774, there was not a word said about color. At a subsequent period, Congress met again, and agreed to get in readiness 12,000 men, to act in any emergency; also, a request was' &c.

31st page, 4th paragraph, 1st line, instead of 'Moble' read 'Mobile.'

34th page, 7th line from the top, for 'halo' read 'halloo.'

45th page, 5th line from the top, instead of 'surprising' read 'unsurpassing.'

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

OF

TEACHERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS

OF THE

New-England Educational Commission

FOR

FREEDMEN.

FOURTH SERIES.

JANUARY 1, 1864.

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1864.

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NEW-ENGLAND EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION FOR FREEDMEN.

Since the publication of the Annual Report, the Commission has been actively engaged in sending out Teachers, Superintendents, and material aid to the Freedmen of the South and West. In South Carolina the schools have now been in operation more than a year and a half, and the progress made by the colored pupils is considered by the teachers as at least equal to that of pupils in Northern schools. The success of the industrial movement among the Freedmen of Port Royal is equally marked with that of the schools. They have shown a capacity for intelligent and continued labor which would do credit to any community. The most industrious among them have not only supported their own families, but have accumulated no inconsiderable amount of money. Some of them have purchased lands, which they cultivate with energy and profit. In Virginia and North Carolina the success of the schools has been as great, in proportion to the time during which they have been in operation, as in South Carolina. The Freedmen in those States have also shown the same readiness to labor that has characterized them at Port Royal. Encouraging progress has been made in the reorganization of labor among the Freedmen of the Southwestern States, and in many localities valuable crops have been raised by them during the past season.

The Freedmen within our lines in South Carolina are now self-supporting, and need no further contributions of material aid. Those in Virginia and North Carolina are fast becoming so, while the great destitution of many families among those at the West, it is hoped and believed, will cease as soon as the plans now in progress for employing them upon the land early in the coming spring are perfected and put in operation. This Commission has already distributed a large amount of clothing and supplies, and will continue to aid those

actually in want, to the extent of its ability. But it is particularly desirous to discourage among them the idea that such aid is to be permanent. This kind of assistance is regarded only as *temporary*, to be discontinued as soon as the immediate necessity has passed away.

The chief objects of this Commission have been the education and elevation of the Freedmen by means not only of schools and teachers, but of all influences that shall encourage industry, self-reliance and self-respect. For these purposes, as well as for the supply of immediate relief to those in need, it still asks for further contributions to its funds. The field of its labor is constantly enlarging, and new efforts are demánded to meet the increasing wants. It has hitherto confined its action chiefly to the Atlantic States, but it has now an agent in New Orleans, with a view of extending its influence to those of the South West. The amount of good already accomplished by this Association, with so small an amount of funds, is believed to be almost without parallel among enterprises of this character. It has demonstrated, by actual experiment, the capacity of the Freedmen for self-support, and shown that the transition from slavery to freedom is neither difficult nor dangerous if made under friendly and judicious guidance.

To enable the Commission to continue and extend its operations, to send out more teachers and establish new schools, which are urgently called for, it is necessary that additional subscriptions of money should be obtained. For this object the formation of Auxiliary Associations in the cities and towns of New England is earnestly recommended. Such Associations can render most efficient aid by forwarding funds for the support of Teachers to the Treasurer of this Commission. They will be invited to select Teachers from among those in the service of the Commission, whose salaries they will be responsible for, with whom they may correspond, and to whose care they may send clothing and supplies for the Freedmen.

Auxiliary Associations, which have been already formed in several towns, are now in successful operation. This Commission will act as the central agent for all New-England Associations.

Boston, January 1st, 1864.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

OF

TEACHERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS.

LETTERS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

St. Helena Island, July 9th, 1863.

My dear Sir,—I send you a letter from the School Committee. I give it *word for word*, as it fell from the lips of Robert, leaving out a few remarks about myself. They have been very faithful, and will be found a great help to future teachers.

Yours most sincerely, A. D. Milne.

Dear Sir,—The Committee of the Adams School, on this Island, would say, that in regard to our ignorance, we were all ignorant and blind, and have been kept back in darkness by our former masters, who used to hold us under bondage and hide the light from us. But thank God that through the prayers of good people, the good friends of the North, through the assistance of God, are helping us to drop the scales from our eyes. We have think within ourself, while we were under slavery bondage, that we could never seen this sight, that we have, and all our friends and parents, who have children, think that they cannot pray and thank God enough, and the good friends of the North, who are striving to let us see this light. Even I myself, Robert L. Chaplin, myself 73 years old, had feel within myself that it was impossible that the slavery bound could ever again see light in this world, until the good friends send us a good friend, that teach us that all things are possible with God, and that old and young can see light in their old age. The children and people all, now, desire to learn to read, and we hope you will be pleased not to let us suffer for a teacher, for the children of this district was very much neglect, above any other part of the Island, until our present teacher came, and now his health is gone and he is not able to hold out through the season, and we feel very much distressed in our mind for want of his teaching. All the good we can do for ourself, is but little, we were kept down so, by our secesh masters, but we will do what we can and return our thanks by our prayers to the friends that help us.

We were so delight to see the children improve, that our teacher voted to have a committee of four and myself makes five, to visit the school and see that everything go on regular among all the children, and we stand the assistance of the teacher as far as we are able and our understanding goes.

All the books and property that belong to the School, is in our charge, and if a teacher is sent we shall be sponsible for the same. We will write to you again and let you know how we get along. Our district will need a man teacher, a good strong man, because there is deal of work in a large school. We generally have lecture every Sunday evening, from three to four o'clock among the children and people, and we have seen that it makes the children and people improve more greatly.

If we should have another teacher, we feel that we shall continue on in every way to receive knowledge. Through the assistance of the Lord we pray that as we improve in one thing we may improve in everything, more and more every year.—We give great thanks to the Lord for the good things he has sent already.

This letter is signed by all the five committee men, who are all present, and very thankfully agree to what is said, and we shall all be pleased to receive any message from you.

ROBERT L. CHAPLIN, ⋈ *Chairman.*
JOHN EDWARD, his ⋈ mark.
WILLIAM JEFFERSON, his ⋈ mark.
DANIEL BOLLES, his ⋈ mark.
WILLIAM SCOTT, his ⋈ mark.

July 8th, 1863, *Adams School, Morville District,*
St. Helena Island, S. C.

ASHDALE, NEAR BEAUFORT, S. C., AUGUST 8th, 1863.

The colored people are doing well generally. They are quite industrious, and well informed in all that appertains to raising the cotton and all the other productions of the soil. They are very much interested in all those products that form the means of their subsistence. They are laboring assiduously to procure in the coming harvest sufficient to supply all the wants of the body, with some amount to sell. The Governor of this department in the spring cut off the clothes and rations from all the people that were able to labor in the fields, and it has proved one of the most efficient means of promoting industrious habits among them. So long as they saw before them a source from which they could draw food and clothes, they were contented, and these contributions had a deleterious effect upon them. Now they are aware that if they do not produce sufficient to support themselves, and purchase their clothes, they must suffer, and they are quite ambitious to get as much as possible. It is quite surprising to see the ingenuity and tact which many of them exhibit to accomplish that end. They certainly have imbibed largely the spirit of trade and commerce, by which they increase their revenue. Their little fields are guarded with the strictest care, and the growth of all the products watched with much eagerness, and the profits calculated by them, as much as the cargo and the profits to accrue therefrom are, by the great shippers of our commercial marts. They are fast learning the value of money, and are acquiring an idea of property, whether it be in a horse or land. There is a growing desire among them to become owners of land. Hundreds of them are guarding their little stores with jealous care, and adding to their stock all they can, in order to have sufficient to make purchases at the next sales of land. To be able to receive all the proceeds of their labors, is one of the heights of their ambition. The adjoining plantation to the one where I live, was purchased last year by the negroes. They have worked it themselves without any direction from white people. They have exhibited all the skill, thus far, of those that have been worked by the Government. They have a large field of cotton, and a larger one of corn. I see them frequently, and converse with them about it. They are as proud of their labors as are any of the farmers of the North when success follows a period of industry. They have planted and brought to good growth by the necessary working three acres of cotton, each of which is, I am told, the maximum of one person's allotment, when other crops are worked by the same hand to the maximum. This condition of that plantation excites the emulation of all the surrounding people, and they frequently say that if they could work this land in the same way we could see some great crops. I have no doubt that if the negroes owned the land and could work it with the expectation of receiving all the proceeds, the cotton crop would have been increased one-third, if not one-half.

So far as the question of subsistence is involved with these people, there is not the least doubt about it. They are abundantly competent, and able and willing, to support themselves, and in a short time many of them will acquire a competence that will enable them to demand and supply themselves with many of the comforts of civilized life.

A. B. PLIMPTON.

HILTON HEAD, S. C., SEPTEMBER 13th, 1863.

The people are raising a plenteous crop for their subsistence, with the exception of a few aged and otherwise helpless individuals. There is much matured corn, an abundance of sweet potatoes, considerable rice, and a general supply of various kinds of vegetables all over the islands. There is also a quite extensive crop of cotton, the first picking of which is now taking place. The peach, fig and other fruit harvests have gone by, but there is a profusion of oranges everywhere, some of them beginning to turn yellow. The supply seems to be unlimited. I have been surprised at the amount of

subsistence raised upon the islands; and yet, with more diligence and increased husbandry, the amount may be vastly increased. I see no reason why the natural resources of the islands may not be made to support entirely, at least twice, and perhaps three times their present population. This, of course, would require a more thorough and general superintendence, than has yet been rendered. The people need to be instructed, encouraged, and in many cases compelled to labor.

The agent who comes here for pastime or the mere novelty of change, had better stay at home. The direction of *labor* is vastly important, but scarcely less so is the development of the social, mental and moral faculties of this long oppressed and neglected race. It seems to me there is at present a great lack of teachers, not merely of the alphabet, and more advanced education, but also of social and domestic duties.

G. Pilsbury.

Beaufort, S. C., November 11th, 1863.

The cotton crop has done very fairly this year. The entire crop, from the private as well as Government plantations, will be about double that of last year, or even more than double. The Government will have this year about one hundred thousand pounds of ginned cotton. The first frost came last night, and that will cut off a good deal of cotton that would have ripened in the next fortnight if there had been no frost. The money paid out to the people for their labor on this cotton is very considerable, and makes the industrious ones very well to do.

E. W. Hooper.

LETTERS FROM NEWBERN, N. C.

FROM REV. HORACE JAMES, SUPERINTENDENT OF BLACKS AT NEWBERN.

Office of Superintendent of Blacks,
Newbern, N. C., June 6th, 1863.

Respecting Teachers, I am ready to assure you, from General Foster himself, that he will afford them military protection, government rations, and as good a dwelling place as the circumstances will allow. We have but one Newbern in the department. Here they will have a good house to live in. At Beaufort it would be much the same. But on Roanoke Island, and perhaps at Plymouth and Washington, certainly at Hatteras, we could not supply them so comfortably. I am confident there will be no trouble on this point. Still I wish that those who are sent may share largely in a missionary spirit, and come out here expecting to teach and to live in a log shanty, or even in a tent, if we can do no better for them. Let them aspire to emulate their brothers in self-denial, who have preceded them here in the regiments, and with the sword have cut a passage for the army of Educators to follow on.

Horace James.

Newbern, N. C., July 27th, 1863.

It is not yet a week since Mr. Doolittle opened the school of which Miss Ropes and myself have charge, and to-day we had 258 pupils in attendance, and managed to give to each a morsel of the food for which they are so hungry. The avidity with which they grasp at the least shadow of knowledge is intensely interesting. Once supplied with a book, and the work of school government is at an end. One of my "1st class," aged 25, can read with a good deal of readiness, and the only book he had ever seen until yesterday, is a fragment of an old dictionary; and when I put into his hands a "Third Reader" (Wilson's Series) the strong man wept for joy. In our school the ages range from 5 to 45, and as far as I can judge at present, they will soon leave white pupils far behind.

Every hour spent with them is a fresh surprise, and a new cause for gratitude that I am here. I suffer no inconvenience from the climate, and have but one regret in connection with being here, and that is that I have not a whole fresh life to give to this noble work.

B. L. C.

October 2d, 1863.—Owing to a variety of circumstances, contingent upon the commencement of a new work, it has been almost impossible to keep a record from which any accurate report of my school could be drawn.

Early in September I so far succeeded in systematizing my portion of the field, as to be able to make some approach to such a record. From it I gather the following items:

Names registered for September, ...	200
Left to attend other schools, ...	23
Left to find employment, ...	17
Belonging to the school September 30th, . . .	160
Average attendance for the month, ...	128
Number between the ages of 6 and 12, . . .	50
" " " " " 12 " 45, . . .	95
" " " " " 45 " 60, . . .	15

The difficulty I have found in learning the names as well as the ages of these people would have been a source of amusement, but for the memory of the great wrong that has caused it. The name "Bill" or "Tom," has sometimes stood for several days upon my list, waiting for the owner thereof to learn the proper patronymic to attach to it. I insist on their possessing, as one of the attributes of freedmen, at least two names; but having borne the surname of their "owner" when in slavery, and left it with their chains, they do not readily understand why they need be troubled with a second name, now that they "call no man master."

I see no abatement of their interest in the school. For regularity and punctuality of attendance, they will compare very favorably, I think, with our Boston schools.

On reaching my school-room door this morning, fifteen minutes before the hour appointed for opening the school, I found 110 waiting admission; and it is not an unusual thing for a large number of them to gather around the door of the Teacher's Home, to escort their respective teachers to their schools.

Their reverence for and child-like trust in the teachings of the Bible is very beautiful. The older ones tell me they always *knew* they should be free, because they knew "'twas told so in the blessed Bible." And they have secretly taught their children to live in hope, to *watch* and wait, for the day of their redemption. I never before had charge of a school where the morning scripture reading produced so visibly a good effect as in this school; there is so much that they seem to feel was written expressly for them.

The most advanced class, numbering 24, can read readily and quite correctly from the "Second Reader" of the National Series, spelling without hesitation any word in the lesson, as well as the names of the various objects in the room, and such as they meet with in the street and elsewhere. Spelling seems to be a favorite pastime in the street and about their homes, and the fortunate boy who can hold the book and pronounce the words for them is "the officer of the day," and respected and obeyed accordingly. I gave them practical questions in very simple arithmetic, but have been able to give but very little time to it. They are getting some idea of geography; but when I took them to Newbern, and led them out of Craven County and even beyond North Carolina, they seemed quite lost in astonishment, and came to the conclusion that 'twas "a big world." A few of my pupils are making fair progress in writing, on slates, of which useful article we have now a good supply.

Lest I weary you, I will say in conclusion, that we are all doing much more and better than we have any right to expect. I sometimes ask them if they don't wish themselves back in slavery, where they might at least have more comfortable clothing and better food; but the invariable answer is in the negative: "Dis bad enough, but right smart sight better'n dat ar."

B. L. C.

November 14th, 1863.—In addition to my morning session for both sexes, I have a sewing-school for such girls and women belonging to the school as are entirely ignorant of plain sewing. The sessions of this school are held on the afternoons of Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday—Wednesday being reserved to allow time for preparing the work. The pupils are making in this, as in all they attempt to learn, a good degree of progress.

To cultivate patriotism in those who have never before had a country to love, is a pleasant and exceedingly interesting part of the teacher's duty here. We are doing it in the Hancock Street Sewing-School, by teaching the little fingers that have picked cotton, to sew together the little bright pieces that they so love to handle, into a bed-quilt or "comforter" for the poor soldiers. It would rejoice the hearts of their friends, to see how delighted they are to know they can do something for others. They are

employed, too, in making garments for the destitute among their own poor, at the camps. To help them help themselves, we only need materials upon which to keep them at work. They can be very easily taught to use them.

My first impressions of the capacity of the blacks to receive and profit by instruction, remain unchanged. In every quality that goes to make the intelligent and teachable, as well as the "docile and affectionate" pupil, these children equal any white children it has ever been my privilege to teach. B. L. Canedy.

Newbern, N. C., October 22d, 1863.

I want to tell you the great need of books in our Sabbath Schools; we have exhausted our supply, and in the name of fourteen hundred Sabbath School Scholars, I pray you send us a quantity. I have four Sabbath Schools under my charge, and as soon as I receive the books necessary to do so, I shall establish two or three more. At one of the Sabbath Schools there is an average attendance of over six hundred scholars; at each of the others, two hundred. We need tracts, primers, testaments, singing books, and papers, and need them immediately. The Sabbath Schools are co-agents with the day schools, and it is very desirable to keep alive the deep interest felt in them.

There are now five day schools in full tide of operation here, and the scholars are making wonderful progress in their studies. If the predictions of many prove true, it will not be necessary to send North for teachers bye and bye. At the evening school which is under my direction, there is an average attendance of over three hundred scholars. It is a highly interesting and popular school. I have the aid of thirty officers and privates (belonging to regiments in this vicinity) in this school.

O. E. D.

November 4th, 1863.—I have established a morning school in a Contraband camp south of the Trent River; there is an average attendance of one hundred and twenty-five pupils, and we now see a very studious band striving to learn with all their powers.

There are about one thousand freedmen in this camp, and many of them who have heretofore depended upon the labors of sons and daughters for their "daily bread," are now seeking other means of supply, that their children may attend school. It is often said to me by these poor people, "I am willing to make any sacrifice that my little ones may be educated," and this remark is made by those who have not a crust of bread for the morrow. There are fifty males and seventy-five females in this school; their ages are as follows:

75 are under 12 years of age.
20 " " 18 " " "
30 " " 25 " " "

My evening school for adults is full of interest; there is an average attendance of three hundred pupils. Over one hundred have learnt to read since they began to attend, and almost two hundred pupils will soon need a more advanced book than the one they are now using. Writing has been introduced into this school. It is my intention that only those who can read well, shall be allowed to have lessons given them in this accomplishment. I am obliged to make this condition for them to learn writing, as there is not space in the building to have many departments of learning. As soon as practicable, I intend to introduce arithmetic into this school.

I have four Sabbath Schools under my care; two of these I established. At one of these schools there are over six hundred pupils, and at each of the others two hundred. As soon as I receive a supply of books and papers, I hope to establish other schools. O. E. Doolittle.

Newbern, November 23d, 1863.

Mr. James gave me a School which Miss Canedy was teaching, consisting of adults and a few children who could not attend her large school. It is one of intense interest. The scholars manifest the most enthusiastic desire to learn. The great point with all seems to be to read the Testament. Some learn very rapidly and quite well, but when they attempt to spell, have no idea whatever of the sound of letters, nor can you give them any if they are old; with the younger ones I am trying to overcome this, and by perseverance shall, I hope, succeed. With those who have grown old, it

seems only to be necessary to teach them to *read*, and the quickest method (however irregular) is the most desirable.

I found everything in Newbern so much more comfortable than I expected, that I have not for one moment felt as though I was enduring any privations. Our ungratified wants have only been a source of amusement, and our many comforts a continual cause for congratulation.

I cannot feel that I am engaged in teaching, *in an ordinary way*, reading, writing, and spelling; but, that each one to whom we impart any instruction, any spark of knowledge, is so much pressure bearing on a lever, that is slowly, but inevitably, elevating a nation.

When I witness their delighted earnest effort to improve, my own heart catches the spirit and echoes the fervent, "bress de Lord," that involuntarily escapes so many lips when they find they can spell out a passage in the Testament or Psalms.

I cannot close without giving you a few incidents connected with my School, and those with whom I come in daily contact. One of my pupils, thirteen years of age, could, six months ago, read only very small words, and that by spelling them out; now she reads better than the average of white children of the North of the same age. She spells difficult words with ease. She is very black—intensely African. She has been at school only part of the six months. Another case is a woman of about sixty-five. She reads *well* in the Testament or in any book at sight, but cannot spell the simplest words. She has learned almost entirely since the Federal forces took Newbern.

We have a boy employed in the house, who has all the proverbial characteristics of the negro, and is in all above mediocrity. He keeps his book constantly with him, not only studying when an opportunity is given him, but stealing time from his work for that purpose. Often when I know he should be at work, I have listened in vain for the sound of his axe, and going quietly out to the wood yard, have seen him hide his Reader under a large stick of wood, and with a sheepish look and a real negro laugh, resume his work; but unless watched the axe will soon be dropped for the book. We have also a girl in the house, who has never had any advantages. She does not know all her letters, but is very observing. This morning she said to me, in as good English as I could use, "Miss Carrie, James did not cut one particle of wood last night." I looked at her astonished, for three weeks ago she could not have put together a correct sentence. She also said to the boy (when he tried to excuse himself for neglecting the wood), "If I could read as well as you can, I would not say *gwine* for going, *specially* when the white folks take so much pains with you." Thus daily are brought before us such demonstrations of the high ability of the negro as must convince those who have hitherto denied that his elevation was possible. C. E. Croome.

Newbern, N. C., Dec. 22d, 1863.

On the morning of Nov. 23d, I was duly installed as Teacher in a log school-house, in Camp Kimball, just across the Trent River, about one mile from the city. I will suppose you have some knowledge of this school, as Mr. Doolittle was its first Teacher. There were present this morning eighty-eight pupils. Mr. James gave me full power to make any changes I might think best, which privilege I have availed myself of. I found all the little ones on the back seats and completely hid by the larger ones. I commenced the next morning by taking the names and ages of all present, the result being 106. There has been a steady increase of numbers each day, until I now have 212 names registered, of all ages from five years to sixty-one. I have fathers and mothers with their children. Women leave their work until the latter part of the day, and boys refuse to accept situations, that they may avail themselves of these privileges. I would that every child in the North, could look on, and see the eagerness manifested by these poor colored children in their books. It would give them some idea of their own privileges, and perhaps stimulate them to renewed diligence.

I had the benches in front made lower, and placed the smaller children on them, thereby enabling them to touch their feet to the floor. This done, I could command every eye in the room. To arrange them in classes was a work of time. I found a great variety of books, and but three of the National series. They have a great desire to read from a *large* book, supposing they are learning faster. I found they knew by heart the lessons in the "Picture Primer" which they had, and could tell me how much of the book they knew, while in fact they could not read one word. Another difficulty has been to keep them in a class. After arranging them, I have had to watch very sharp, and tell them time and again, until now they do very well. I have introduced six dozen National Primers, having two classes—one just commencing to read

words of two letters, the other a class of thirty-five, reading words of four and five letters. I have a letter class, numbering sixty and upwards; this comprises scholars of all ages. These I teach in concert from the various cards which I have introduced, giving them oral instruction of various kinds, afterwards hearing each one read from the Picture Primer which I found in school. This exercise seems to interest the older ones, as much as the class itself. I have a class of ten in the National First Reader, a small class in the Second Reader, also several who require attention separately. They are anxious to know how to write and cipher. I give some exercises on the blackboard, besides copies on their slates, and never before have I felt so much the need of *two pairs of hands* as now. I was without an assistant until last week, and now have one who has been teaching in Newbern since July, and is only with me for a short time. I have formed a class in Davis's Primary Arithmetic, numbering ten. These I intend to hear recite after the others are dismissed, but they are mostly disposed to stay and listen.

I have been obliged to dismiss the younger children at the close of their exercises, in order to make room for the rest. This difficulty will be obviated by enlarging the building, which has already commenced, when I shall hope to labor to better advantage. I wish I could introduce you to this school as it appears in the morning, and let them sing to you one of their own native songs; afterwards one which they have just learned—"Rally round the Flag." They are delighted with our songs, and catch them very readily. You may imagine how they look, but to know fully, you should see for yourself. All the books I ever read, gave me but a faint idea of their real appearance. I cannot call all their names, but can tell them wherever we meet, by the flash of their eyes. I find them strong in their attachment to us, while their thoughts are oftentimes expressed in the most touching language. I wish I could give you an exact report of one of their public speeches, as well as some of their prayers. They call down all manner of blessings on us Teachers, as well as all the people of the North, not excepting "*Mr. Linkum*" and his Cabinet. My own language is meagre compared with theirs. They speak but the utterances of a full heart, overflowing with gratitude and exceeding great joy, that after so many years of oppression and wrong, they are now Freedmen. Who can wonder? One expression which I heard in a prayer, I must repeat:—"Grant, O Lord, that not a *feather* be lacking in the wing of the North." "Indulgent Father, we thank thee thou didst ever make a Linkum. O spare his life, and bless our Union Army; may one man put a thousand to flight, and ten chase ten thousand."

The sick in camp send for the "School Misses." Some of their leading men have been to the school-house, and expressed their gratitude for my service in a very acceptable manner. I also visit them in their homes, and as far as possible relieve their wants by distributing clothing, but my pen fails to tell you of the destitution, rags, patches, and half nakedness. I would that I were able to arouse the people of the North more thoroughly to a sense of the needs of this suffering people; another winter may not find them so unprepared for the cold.

I think I have introduced you sufficiently for the first time to my school, which I have named for Dr. Russell, and it will hereafter be known as the Russell School. I hope to be able to give you favorable reports from time to time. There is a great work to be done, and no person who has a love for this field of labor, need stand with folded hands.

S. M. Pearson.

LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA.

Portsmouth, Va., May 11th, 1863.

For a week we heard, without anxiety, the booming of the guns at Suffolk, and we begged to be allowed to remain on the Island (Craney Island), but the Doctor was decided, and General Viele and other officers urged the necessity of his sending us North. To that we demurred; but in spite of our unwillingness, we were kept for a week in durance vile at the Hygeia Hotel. We then returned to our work, though the authorities considered it unsafe so to do; and knowing we should soon be taken from the Island, we worked, for a week, ten or twelve hours a day; our pupils striving cheerfully all the while to keep pace with us. In that week, many to whom on Monday we gave their first writing lessons, learned to write me letters. Writing from

memory, excited them amazingly, and writing "Newport News," "Hampton," and their other homes of refuge, was a delight to them. I don't tell you about my sister, but her work tells here all the while. We want primers—one thousand of them. Out of date books can be spared, I doubt not, from many Northern bookstores. You desire us to make our wants known to you. Can you help us in this instance, and that speedily?

Dr. Brown has six hundred and forty-five negroes upon the farms which he directly superintends—from one to five hundred upon each farm. He still has forty farms. Of fourteen a third of the produce is confiscated, and of those he has no oversight. He himself is cultivating two thousand four hundred acres, with grain, vegetables, cotton and tobacco. L. C.

Whitehead Farm, June 20th, 1863.

I asked, and it was given unto me. The books and slates came and were welcomed, and many of them are already worn in the service. Your help was so ready and efficient, in my hour of need, I incline to drive to your door again. The refugees, with their rags and vermin, are crowding into Norfolk. One hundred and twenty (or more), very destitute, have just gone to Craney Island from Suffolk, and we have nothing to spare from the farms wherewith to clothe them. It is almost certain that the number will steadily increase. How shall we clothe them? They cannot be expected to pay for their clothing. We have at no time been able to meet a present need; and the prospect before us looks very naked. I am dropping my books and slates about upon the farms, but I cannot get a horse to keep constantly upon the road as I expected to do. However, we have work at home; but when I do get to the farms, old men and children flock to my side, and their interest and attention show that in one half hour they get a mighty impulse. L. C.

Norfolk, Va., Nov. 11th, 1863.

Four hundred refugees, released by colored soldiers, have just come, empty-handed, into our lines. In the jail-yard, where they once found chains and a lash, all the refugees now find a temporary home. The men and large boys go at once to the Government farms to build huts, and in due season to take their families to the house-warming. Twenty-five refugees came ten days ago; and more will come, from time to time, all winter long. They must be clothed; so, of Northern charity let there be no end.

Many of the negroes upon the Government farms will this month receive wages, and should have the privilege of paying something for their clothing. The number of needy will, necessarily, continue to be large, and it seems necessary to continue the practice of gratuitous distribution; but Dr. Brown unites with me in thinking it very desirable that a store should be opened here for all who hold a purse. He says if you will send a store-keeper, he will furnish him with facilities; and he can furnish you with free transportation from New York.

I have not told you that we present all the refugees with A B C's, and they snatch them greedily, astonishing my sister and myself, long-experienced though we are, with their amazing progress. L. C.

Norfolk, Va., Dec. 24th, 1863.

We shall continue our school through the holidays. A prospect of *rest* and *vacation* wearies us.

My sister went to Newbern for a day or two, a week or so ago. She had, for a few weeks, had the entire superintendence of a school of four hundred children. Small children, too, and raw. It was the reception school of the city. Thirty or forty new scholars came every day. A school that only one with a gift could control, and only one with a body could bear upon her shoulders. It was the school in which we had taught through the summer, giving our extra time to the refugees and the farms.

Difficulties and delays have blocked the path-way to our own special family school-house; but now we have one, the doors are open; and by New Year's, we shall have a school-house of our own. At present, we are teaching in a church.

Three hundred more refugees came in on Tuesday; seventy wagon "loads" on Saturday; and one hundred and twenty "loads" a day or two ago. The Doctor drops them upon his farms now, that the city may no longer be over burdened.

Lucy Chase.

REPORT OF REV. CHARLES LOWE TO THE COMMITTEE ON TEACHERS.

Somerville, Dec. 7th, 1863.

My dear Sir,—It gives me great pleasure to present, at your request, a statement of the impression made upon my mind by a visit to the field of operations of the Educational Commission for Freedmen, in the department of South Carolina. I had an opportunity to visit many of the schools and plantations on Port Royal, St. Helena and Ladies Islands, and to converse with many who were familiar with the condition of the freed population, and will state as briefly as I can the result of my observation.

First, As to the Schools.

In the immediate vicinity of Beaufort the teachers labor at great disadvantage. The town is an aggregate of Government offices, hospitals and camps. An excessive population of freed people has congregated there, and they are exposed to all the bad influences of such a community. The effect is seen in the Schools, in a want of punctuality and in a restless spirit on the part of the children. Yet even in these Schools the success of the attempt was very gratifying. The children seemed bright and eager to learn, and showed remarkable proficiency. Here, as indeed in all the schools I visited, I was greatly struck by the excellence of the teachers employed. In one of the Schools in Beaufort, there was acting as an assistant, a young colored man—formerly a member of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, and disabled at Wagner. He was teaching some of the classes, and as I watched him I thought he was teaching very successfully. Certainly he had the perfect respect and attention of the pupils, and it seemed to me that such men might be thus employed to advantage, more frequently than they are.

As you go away from Beaufort, the bad influences of that place gradually lessen, till, on the plantations ten miles distant, the people are quite out of their reach, and the consequences are very apparent. Here, with no better teachers (for where all are so good I could not recognize any difference), the discipline of the Schools was greatly superior, and their whole character compared favorably with that of any of our Northern Schools of the same grade.

Second, As regards the ability of the freed people to support and govern themselves, my impressions are equally favorable.

Here again, Beaufort and its immediate vicinity afford a most unfavorable condition for the experiment. And many visitors, judging from what they see there, may give unfair statements in regard to its success. The place, as I have already said, has just the effect, on the people gathered there, that a prolonged muster-field would have on a great mass of people who might crowd about it. Considering this, it was a matter of surprise to me that things are no worse. There is no disorder, and a Quarter-Master, who has occasion to employ a very large number of the men, told me that he never had so little difficulty with laborers. On Thanksgiving day they were all discharged for a holiday, and he said to me that, whereas, with white men, he should be dreading trouble from their absence or disorderly conduct the next morning after the day's carousing, he was sure that these men would all be promptly at their work.

On the plantations removed from the camps the condition of things is most gratifying. The people labor well, and are easily managed, and the superintendents say are always ready to do anything that you can persuade them is for their advantage.

I will not anticipate the statements which are being prepared by one gentleman there (Mr. E. S. Philbrick), in which he will show conclusively the satisfactoriness of their voluntary paid labor so far as the employers are concerned. My only purpose is to testify, as a casual observer, to the good order, the respectful demeanor and thrifty appearance of the colored population, and the general evidence which such a visit could give of a good state of things.

One thing particularly impressed me. I saw the people everywhere, in their homes and in the fields. I have seen the working classes in many countries of the world, and I never saw a peasantry so cleanly dressed, so respectable in their outward appearance or apparently so happy. This is certain in regard to these people—that they are abundantly able to support themselves. If your organization has made any mistake, it has been that you felt at first too little confident of that, and assumed that they must be helped by donations in charity. Undoubtedly there was, for a while, much destitution, and your relief was most timely; but the generosity of the supply encouraged a feeling that they could live without labor, which has been one of the great difficulties to overcome. They certainly need help no longer. I saw them at the stores kept on the Islands, buying, with plenty of money, every variety of articles, and heard of no want.

A paymaster told me that, under the order of General Saxton, permitting them to apply for lands hereafter to be sold, the sum of $4,000 has already been deposited by freedmen. One man is now owner of the plantation of his former master, which he purchased with money loaned him, and which he has now paid for by the earnings of this year's crop.

What interested me most in what I saw, was the conviction, that here is being worked out the problem of whether the black race is fitted for freedom. In many respects the circumstances in this locality are such as to make the experiment peculiarly satisfactory. 1st, The colored people on these Islands are admitted to be inferior to those in most portions of the South, partly because kept more degraded, and partly because close intermarrying has caused them to deteriorate. 2dly, After being left by their masters, they lived for a time under no kind of restraint. And 3dly, By a well meant generosity, when first visited by our sympathy they were encouraged to believe that they could live under freedom without the necessity of labor.

Yet, under all these disadvantages, the experiment has been a triumphant success—apparent, beyond question, to any one who can observe.

To be sure, it can probably never happen that on any general scale, those who shall give to the newly freed people their first instructions in freedom, shall be men and women of such high character and ability as those who have undertaken it here. I was amazed when I saw among the teachers and superintendents so many persons of the very highest culture, and fitted for the very highest positions. I confess I felt sometimes as though it was lavishing too much upon this work; but then I considered (what is now the great feeling with which I regard the whole thing) that this is a grand experiment which is settling for the whole nation this great problem. And when I saw how completely it has settled it, I felt that it was worthy of all that had been given. I believe that the importance of the movement is yet to be realized when the operations on this field shall become the great example for every part of the land.

I am, with great respect, very truly yours,

CHARLES LOWE.

Dr. LeBaron Russell, Boston.

The following letter to the Treasurer of the Committee for Aid to the Freedmen of the West, is from Mr. Edward S. Philbrick, one of the first company sent to Port Royal by the Commission, in March, 1862. After a term of active and most efficient service as Superintendent of Plantations under Gen. Saxton, Mr. Philbrick became the purchaser, at the Government sale for taxes, of thirteen plantations, which he has since conducted, with the result given below. Mr. Philbrick has treated the blacks with great humanity, giving them liberal wages, and paying for the support of teachers out of his own funds.

BEAUFORT, S. C., DEC. 28, 1863.

ALPHEUS HARDY, *Treasurer:*

DEAR SIR,—Enclosed please find my draft for one hundred dollars, for the relief of the families of Freedmen, in response to your circular. Please state to your committee and to any other gentlemen interested in the question of free labor, that I have disbursed the sum of $20,000 during the past nine months among the freedmen here, in the shape of wages, well earned, besides which they have now on hand ample provision to feed their families for twelve months to come, the fruit of their own toil.

I employ about 500 laborers—women and children, mostly, having a population of 920 on my lands. They have raised for me 73,000 pounds of clean Sea Island cotton this year, worth 50d. sterling in Liverpool, besides their own provision crops, above referred to. This has been done in hearing of Gen. Gilmore's big guns on Morris Island, surrounded by camps, with no civil law, and *without* the help of the able-bodied men, who were all pressed into the military service, leaving the plantations with none but old men, women and children. I have no paupers, all the old and infirm being fed and clothed by their friends and children.

I mention these things to show how easy it is to render the negroes a self-supporting and wealth-producing class with proper management; and I, at the same time, fully appreciate the duty imposed upon us as a nation, to extend the area of charity where the unsettled state of the country renders industry impossible until time is given to re-organize and force to protect it. We are more fortunately situated than the people of the Mississippi valley, and have got the start of them.

Respectfully yours, E. S. PHILBRICK.

The Commission was organized in Boston, February 7th, 1862. Since that date it has sent 114 Teachers and Superintendents to the South. Their names are printed below. Of these 97 went to Port Royal, 11 to Newbern, N. C., 3 to Craney Island and Norfolk, Va., and one each to Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, D. C. Of the whole, 72 still remain, employed chiefly as Superintendents of Plantations or as Teachers. Their names are printed in Italics. The names of those who have died are marked with an asterisk.

To Port Royal.—*Edward W. Hooper*, Boston; *Edward S. Philbrick*, Brookline; *Wm. C. Gannett*, Boston; Geo. H. Blake, Bangor; J. C. Zachos, Ohio; *Dr. A. J. Wakefield*, J. F. Sisson, I. W. Cole, Boston; *J. W. R. Hill;* Jas. H. Palmer, Deerfield; *D. F. Thorpe*, Providence; David Mack, Cambridge; *T. Edwin Ruggles*, Milton; J. M. F. Howard, Boston; F. E. Barnard,* Dorchester; Dr. James Waldock, Roxbury; *Richard Soule, jr.*, Brookline; Leonard Wesson, Brookline; Wm. Ed. Park, Andover; J. E. Taylor, Andover; *Dr. Charles H. Browne*, Boston; F. A. Eustis, Milton; Sam'l D. Phillips,* Boston; Rev. Daniel Bowe,* Andover; Wm. S. Clark,* Boston; Mrs. E. B. Hale, Miss M. Hale, Boston; Miss M. A. Waldock, Roxbury; *Miss Ellen H. Winsor*, Boston; *Jules S. DeLacroix*, Newburyport; *Geo. M. Welles*, Providence; *Rev. Thos. D. Howard*, Springfield; Rev. Chas. E. Rich, Geo. H. Boynton, Boston; *Rev. S. Peck*, Roxbury; *Dr. F. W. Lawrence*, Boston; *Dr. F. E. Bundy*, Boston; Moses Wright; Rev. John Orrell, Sandwich; *Arthur Sumner*, Cambridge; Richard S. Edes, Providence; *O. E. Bryant*, Bridgewater; *Geo. H. Hull*, Chelsea; D. B. Nichols; Geo. H. Duran; Geo. Daniels; E. Horn; Mrs. H. W. Philbrick, Brookline; *Miss H. H. Ware*, Milton; Rev. J. Horton; *J. S. Severance*, Concord; *R. W. Allen*, Hartford; *John G. Nichols*, Kingston; *Chas. P. Ware*, Milton; *Chas. Follen*, Boston; *F. J. Williams*, Brookline; Chas. C. Soule, Brookline; *Charles Follen Folsom*, Jamaica Plain; H. L. Breed; *J. R. Dennett*, Reading; *W. N. Murdock*, Boston; *E. P. Dyer*, Hingham; Miss Eliza Ruggles,* Milton; Rev. A. D. Milne, Tiverton, R. I.; Chs. P. Kemp, Boston; Mrs. E. Clark, Boston; *Rev. W. W. Hall*, Providence; *E. G. Dudley*, Boston; A. B. Brown, Boston; W. T. G. Pierce,* Melrose; John H. Goodhue;* *Jas. G. Cole*; *A. B. Plimpton*, Melrose; *J. N. Trask*, Cambridge; *N. C. Dennett*, Worcester; Benj. A. Lincoln,* Boston; *Miss Rice*, Cambridge; *Mrs. H. Bartlett*; *Miss H. Carter*, Cambridge; *Miss S. E. Richardson*, Providence; *Edward G. Stetson*, Lexington; *Gilbert Pillsbury*, Ludlow; *John H. Pillsbury*, Boston; *Theodore E. Davis*, Fitchburg; *J. G. Dodge*, Winchester; *Wm. H. Alden*, Hartford; *C. C. Waters*, Salem; *Geo. S. Morison*, Milton; *Chs. C. Drew*, Boston; *Mrs. C. H. Browne*, Boston; *C. Edward Dyer*, Dorchester; *Wm. G. S. Keene*, Lynn; *Mrs. C. M. Severance*; *Miss Ellen M. Lee*, Templeton; *Miss Helen M. Ireson*, Lynn; *Mrs. A. F. Pillsbury; Mrs. J. G. Dodge.*

To Craney Island and Norfolk. — *Miss Lucy Chase, Miss Sarah E. Chase*, Worcester; *Miss Martha H. Chace*, Providence.

To Newbern, N. C.—*Mr. O. E. Doolittle*, Boston; *Miss B. L. Canedy*, Fall River; Miss Alice S. Ropes, Boston; *Miss Teresa O. James*, Roxbury; *Miss S. M. Pearson*; *Mrs. C. E. Croome*; *Miss Esther Warren*, Exeter, N. H.; *Mr. Wm. V. West*, Nantucket; *Miss Anna C. Canedy*, Fall River; *Miss Anna P. Merriam*, Worcester; *Miss L. N. Tuttle.*

To Washington, D. C.—Miss C. A. Andrews, Newburyport.

To Georgetown, D. C.—*Miss Frances W. Perkins.*

To Alexandria, D. C.—*Miss Virginia A. Lawton.*

Rev. Thomas D. Howard, having returned from Port Royal, has been sent as agent of the Commission to examine and report upon the condition and wants of the Freedmen at New Orleans and the vicinity.

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